

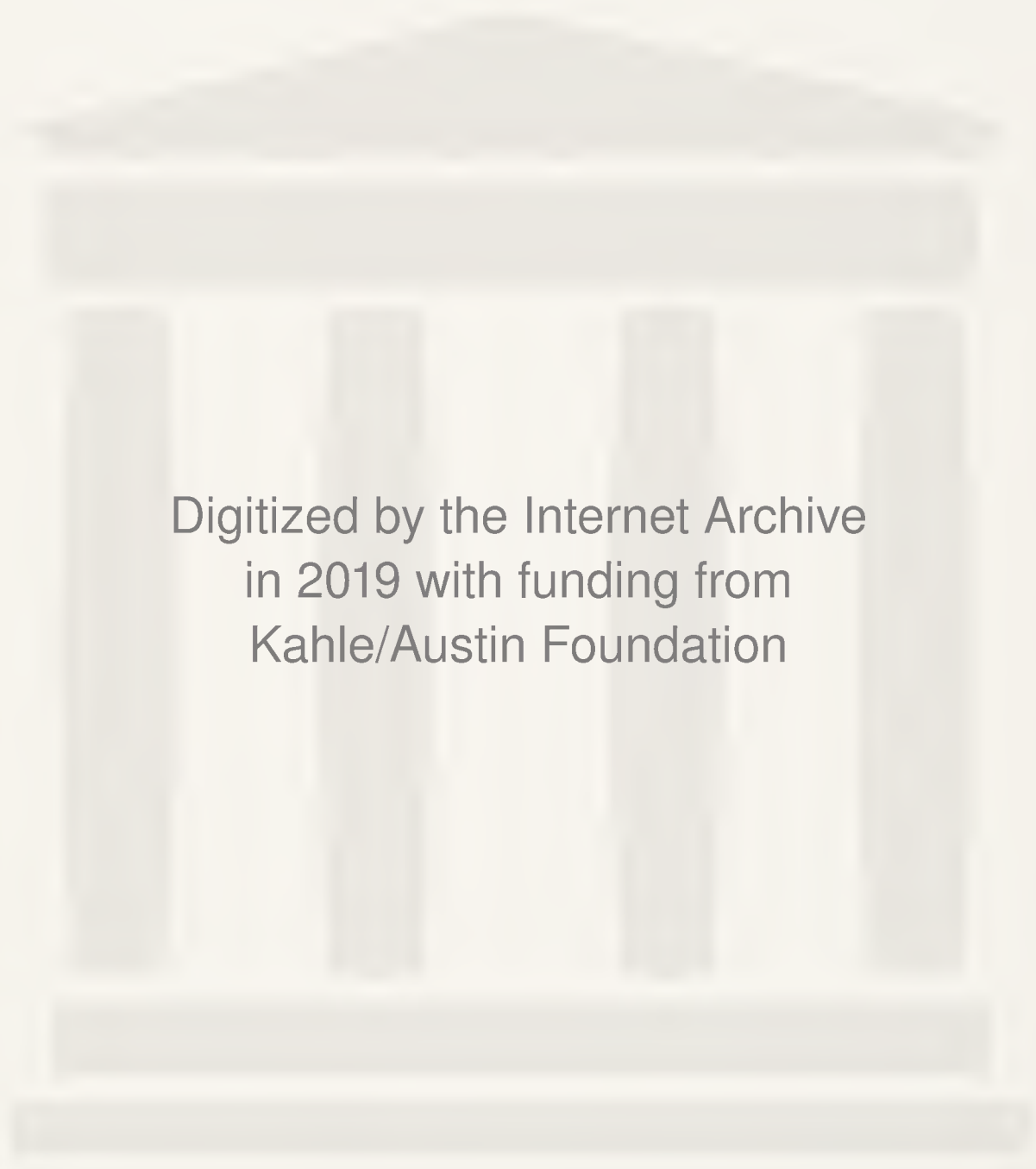


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THE
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI
VOLUME XXXVIII



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THE OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

VOLUME XXXVIII

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PREFACE

This part, like XXXVI, contains contributions by a number of scholars. New literary texts are represented by a scrap of Tyrtaeus (2824) and some pieces of the *Phasma* of Menander (2825), edited by E. G. Turner; and a small number of tiny fragments of New Comedy (2826-8), presentation of which is due to Dr. Marcia Weinstein. 2829-31 are identified pieces of New Comedy, edited by one or other of the foregoing. Dr. Gerald Browne has undertaken the edition of two separate copies of the *Sortes* of Astrampsychus (2832-3) and of a number of documentary texts. Other documents are edited by R. S. Bagnall, J. C. Shelton, J. D. Thomas, and Dr. Weinstein.

In addition the volume contains the publication of a number of texts studied in a seminar held in the University of Cambridge in 1966/7. Among these special mention should be made of 2857, a draft of a Roman will, for which the late Professor A. H. M. Jones and Mr. John Crook take responsibility; the draft manumission 2843, published by Miss Joyce Reynolds, with contributions from Dr. Michael Crawford; the *παραγγελία* contained in 2852, published by Messrs. R. F. Tannenbaum and P. A. M. Seuren. The series 2834-2846 contains all the documents identified as belonging to the Archive of Komon.

In the final stages of proof-reading it was observed that 2858 had been classified as a 'private document', whereas its proper place should have been under 'official documents'. It was then too late to alter the make-up of the book. Mr. W. E. H. Cockle has given valuable help in correcting the proofs.

Dr. Weinstein wishes to thank Professor Paul Mertens for information on third-century Oxyrhynchite prosopography. Dr. John Rea made the index. The general editors wish to thank the compositors and staff of the Oxford University Press for their customary care.

May 1971

P. J. PARSONS
J. R. REA
E. G. TURNER

*General Editors of the
Graeco-Roman Memoirs*

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MMA = M. M. Austin
 RSB = Roger S. Bagnall
 GMB = Gerald M. Browne
 DC = Dorothy Crawford
 MC = Michael Crawford
 JC = John Crook
 AHMJ = A. H. M. Jones

JR = Joyce Reynolds
 PAMS = P. A. M. Seuren
 JCS = John C. Shelton
 RFT = R. F. Tannenbaum
 JDT = J. David Thomas
 EGT = Eric G. Turner
 MEW = Marcia E. Weinstein

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NUMBERS AND PLATES

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NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND ABBREVIATIONS

THE method of publication follows that adopted in Part XXXVI. As there, the dots indicating letters unread and, within square brackets, the estimated number of lost letters are printed slightly below the line. In the new literary texts, corrections and annotations which appear to be in a different hand from that of the original scribe are printed in thick type. Non-literary texts are printed in modern form, with accents and punctuation, the lectional signs occurring in the papyri being noted in the *apparatus criticus*, where also faults of orthography, &c., are corrected. Iota adscript is printed where written, otherwise iota subscript is used. Square brackets [] indicate a lacuna, round brackets () the resolution of a symbol or abbreviation, angular brackets < > a mistaken omission in the original, braces { } a superfluous letter or letters, double square brackets [] a deletion, the signs ` ` an insertion above the line. Dots within brackets represent the estimated number of letters lost or deleted, dots outside brackets mutilated or otherwise illegible letters. Dots under letters indicate that the reading is doubtful. In the new literary texts letters not read or marked as doubtful in the literal transcript may be read or appear without the dot marking doubt in the reconstruction if the context justifies this. Lastly, heavy Arabic numerals refer to Oxyrhynchus papyri printed in this and preceding volumes, ordinary numerals to lines, small Roman numerals to columns.

The abbreviations used are in the main identical with those in E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri: an Introduction* (1968). It is hoped that any new ones will be self-explanatory.

- XXXI 2536. Various notes in *ZPE* iii (1968) 100.
- XXXII 2619. On the metre see *ZPE* iv (1969) 135-42, v (1970) 11-34.
 2644 p. 172. For 'Recto' read 'Verso ↓'.
 p. 173. For 'Verso' read 'Recto →'.
- XXXV 2735. On the metre see *ZPE* iv (1969) 142-9, v (1970) 15-16.
 2737. Various notes in *ZPE* v (1970) 1-10.
 2744. Various notes in *Archiv* xx (1970) 29-42.
- XXXVII p. 4 l. 3. For 2538 read 2358.
- P. Ant. I 24 p. 55 v. 471. For ε]ετιν read]εετιν.
 v. 506. For ου]θ' ο δραc read ου]θ'οραc.
- P. Ant. II p. viii l. 5. For '73 verso' read '73 recto'.
 l. 18 For 'Euripides, *Bacchae* (verso)' read 'Euripides, *Bacchae* (recto)'.
 p. 61 73 (heading). For 'Plate IV (verso)' read 'Plate IV (recto)'.
 p. 62 margin. For 'Recto' read 'Verso ↓'. For 'Verso' read 'Recto →'.
 v. 1159. For [ταυρον προηγγητ]η]ρα read [ταυρον προηγγητ]η]ρα.
 v. 1183. For ευ[τυχ.....] αγρ[a] read ευ[τυχ.....] αγρα.
 v. 1185. For νεoc read perhaps νεoc.
 Pl. IV, caption. For '73 verso' read '73 recto'.
- P. Fay. 176 (description). Text and plate in *BASP* vii (1970) 99-102.
 197 (description). Text and plate in *ZPE* v (1970) 285-6, Tafel VII a.
 350 (description). Text in *ZPE* v (1970) 20-1.
 360 (description). Text and plate in *ZPE* vi (1970) 183-5, Tafel IX c.
- P. Hibeh I 129 (description). Text and plate in *BASP* vii (1970) 39-41, 43.
 133. Reconsidered in *BASP* iii (1965-6) 85-7, with plate (88).
 135 (description). Text and plate in *BASP* iii (1965-6) 89-92, v (1968) 114-17, 120.
 139 (description). Text and plate in *BASP* vii (1970) 41-4.
 152 (description). Text and plate of fr. 2 col. i in D. J. Crawford, *Kerkeosiris* (Cambridge, 1971) 141-3.
- P. Hibeh II 198. Discussion and plates in *BASP* vi (1969) 73-118.
- P. Tebt. I 63 99. For Φαωc read 'Ιλωc. See *BASP* vii (1970) 9.
 64 (a) 49. For [Φαω]c restore ['Ιλω]c. See *BASP* vii (1970) 9.
 93 12. For Φαη[ε]c read Φμο[υ]εc. See *BASP* vii (1970) 9.
 94 24. For Πααλο(υτος?) expand Πααλο(μουνιος). See *BASP* vii (1970) 9.
- P. Tebt. II 531 (description). Text and plate in *BASP* vii (1970) 77-81, 85.
 532 (description). Text and plate in *BASP* vii (1970) 81-4, 86.
 605 (description). Text in *ZPE* vi (1970) 89-90.
 606 (description). Text in *ZPE* vi (1970) 90-1.
 607 (description). Text in *ZPE* vi (1970) 91.
 617 (description). Text in *ZPE* vi (1970) 86.
 629, 630 (descriptions). Text in *ZPE* vi (1970) 87-8. (In 629, line 6 for κρ read κζ.)
 631 (description). Text in *ZPE* vi (1970) 88.
 632 (description). Text in *ZPE* vi (1970) 86-7.
 635 (description). Text in *ZPE* vi (1970) 85.
 646 (description). Text and plate in *BASP* vi (1969) 119-20, 125.
 647 (description). Text and plate in *BASP* vi (1969) 120-1, 126.
 648 (description). Text and plate in *BASP* vi (1969) 122-3, 128.
 650 (description). Text and plate in *BASP* vi (1969) 120, 125.
 655 (description). Text and plate in *BASP* vi (1969) 122, 127.
 656 (description). Text and plate in *BASP* vi (1969) 121, 126.
 657 (description). Text and plate in *BASP* vi (1969) 121-2, 127.
 658 (description). Text and plate in *BASP* vi (1969) 124, 129.
 661 (description). Text and plate in *BASP* vi (1969) 124, 129.
 662 (description). Text and plate in *BASP* vi (1969) 123, 128.

NEW CLASSICAL TEXTS

2824. TYRTAEUS, *Eunomia*

4 × 14 cm.

Late 1st or early 2nd century

A short strip of coarse papyrus from a roll containing the middle portions of 16 elegiac verses identified as Tyrtaeus since fr. 2 is included in them. The hand is a medium-sized rounded capital, bilinear except for ρ and φ. ε (with high cross-bar), ο (in 3 strokes), c are well rounded, α and δ have a left-curving finial at their apex, ρ, τ left-curving serifs, the second stroke of π and υ right-curving serifs. The hand should be assigned to the end of the first or early second century. Among dated hands it may be compared with P. Ryl. iii 484 (which is more informal) and letters in the Gemellus archive, e.g. P. Fay. 110; similar undated hands are 2428, 2506, P. Ryl. i 54. Two accents, a long mark of quantity, and internal marks of aspiration (7, perhaps 5) were added by the same hand. The top of the column is not preserved, but the foot finishes with the first (hexameter) line of a couplet, as does fragment A ii of the Berlin papyrus of Tyrtaeus—the following column must therefore have begun with the pentameter. In so far as one may judge from extrapolation of the beginnings of 12–15, the pentameters began on the same alignment as the hexameters. Another hand using brown ink has written over the Tyrtaeus above ll. 4, 8, 9 (where the Tyrtaeus is obscured) and continued for 3 lines below. It seems to be the same hand as wrote parts of 5 lines on the back, which can be identified as from an account.

This is not the first papyrus fragment of Tyrtaeus to be found. That distinction belongs to P. Berlin 11675, of the 3rd century B.C. (See von Wilamowitz, *S.B. Berlin* 1918, pp. 728 seqq.; L. Koenen, *Rh. Mus.* xcvi (1953), pp. 187–9; M. L. West, *ZPE* i (1967), pp. 173–82.) It is, however, the first papyrus to show that a text of this poet, not merely quotations in anthologies, survived into the Roman period, and to suggest that an Alexandrian edition of his work may have existed. The papyrus contains one interesting variant (which may well be right) from the text given by Strabo (13 n.).

I have had the benefit of transcripts of this text made by both Mr. Lobel and Dr. Rea. But I must take responsibility for the readings presented here.

.

]...υι...[
]....εοπρο[
]ο.φ.ενακ[
]μ.ντεια.α.[
 5]..ιας.α[.]⁺.][
]παντ'ειδεν.[
]γδρασανίςτ[
].[.]η.αλα[
]θεοίσιφι[
 10]αιπει[.]ωμ[.]θακ[
].εγγυτεροι.ν[
]καλλιστεφανου[
]αcτυδεδωκετο[
]οντεσερῖνεον[
 15].νῆcοναφικομ[
]γλαυκώπ[.]δος[

1 Feet only, penultimate letter ο? 2 Three high horizontals before εο, third may be cross-bar of θ,]θ_εθ, M. L. 3 First letter may be ω 4 Short vertical before μ, tip of α after it High convex curve after εια 5 A broken vertical linked by high horizontal to right-facing curved vertical, this linked by high horizontal to ι (probably not]πι; but].ci,]τει,]γει,]πει are possible); then preferably α, but δ, ο possible; then preferably c, but ε possible; then τ or υ or κ; then α or δ or λ; a letter lost; then rough breathing above traces (presumably vowel, which may be followed by c [, or may be ῥ followed by χ or τ?) 6 All early copies, including my own, give ερδεν. But M. L. West has pointed out that the loop of ρ is suspect as too round and watery, and an infra-red photograph confirms that ειδεν should be read After ειδεν, high dot of ink excludes ε and makes ο unlikely 8 At].[, a vertical trace After η, a short vertical preceded by another apparently added later higher in line, from which an oblique slopes down from left to right; the resulting ηγαλα or ησαλα or ηγαλα is very crowded, and the whole line, as in 9, is confused by overwriting in a different hand. A faint trace of tail of λ excludes γαia 9 Writing in other ink above 11 end, πν[or χεν[15]οc cannot be verified

2 θεοπρο[πίαι, θεοπρο[πια, θεόπρο[ποι ἄνδρες (i.e. the Spartan Πυθίοι), θεοπρο[πέων.

4 μαντείαc ἄν[αξ ἑκαεργός (for short -αc, cf. δημοτᾶc ἄνδραc (fr. 3b, 5), χαιτᾶc (P. Berlin 14); or with μαντείαc, ἀν[έφηγε (fr. 3a, 10) or ἀπ[ένεικε (fr. 3b, 1-2).

5 ἀcπ]αcίαc (or -οc), θεcπ]εcίαc are possibilities; for the ending, τ'ἀ[φ]ἔλ[ών could be reconciled with the traces.

6 πάντ' εἶδε ν[or εἶδ' ἐνί[- or? εἶδέναι. Not ἔρδεν, as I originally thought, and therefore there is no connection with fr. 3a, 7 (Diodorus) καὶ ἔρδειν πάντα δίκαια.

7 ἄ]νδραc ἀνίcτ[αμένουc seems indicated by the internal aspiration. 'Men rising to their feet to speak' is the most obvious interpretation.

9]θεοίσι φί[λ- is reminiscent of fr. 4 ἡμετέρωι βασιλῆι, θεοίσι φίλωι Θεοπόμπωι.

10]αι πει[θ]ώμ[ε]θα κ[rather than πει[ρ]ώμ[ε]θα, cf. 11, 12.

11 ἐγγύτεροι χεν[έει or γένεοc (cf. Plato, *Apol.* 30 a; Aesch. *Suppl.* 388) or γενεῆι. 'Tyrtaeus ermahnt zum Gehorsam gegen die Herakliden, denen Zeus Sparta verliehen hat', E. Schwartz, *Hermes* 1899, p. 465. '[The lines ἀντὸc γάρ,] with their reiteration of the source of the royal authority, evidently contain

-] υῖο.[
]...θεοπρο[π
]ο.φρένα κ[
].μαντείας α.[
- 5
-] πάντ' εἶδεν.[
 ἄ]νδρας ἀνιστ[αμεν-
-]θεοῖσι φι[λ-
- 10]αι πει[θ]ώμ[ε]θα κ[
]. . ἐγγύτεροι γεν[ε-
 αὐτὸς γὰρ Κρονίων] καλλιστεφάνου [πόσις Ἡρης
 Ζεὺς Ἡρακλείδαις] ἄστν δέδωκε τό[δε·
 οἷσιν ἅμα προλιπ]όντες Ἐρινεὸν [ἠνεμοέντα
- 15 εὐρείαν Πέλοπ]ορ νῆσον ἀφικόμ[εθα.
] γλαυκώπ[ι]δος [

a point by which Tyrtaeus laid some store—the son of Cronos himself, Hera's husband, Zeus gave this land to the Heraclidae. In fact the loyalty which Tyrtaeus strove to revive was loyalty to the kings, and with this simple remedy he hoped to cure all Sparta's troubles', A. Andrewes, *CQ* xxxii (1938), p. 97. The unemphatic position given to 'Ἡρακλείδαις and the reference to Athena (16) show that Tyrtaeus' appeal is wider, to the divine ordinance which has so far blessed the whole Dorian race, and which Dorians themselves, citizens and fools, are in danger of upsetting. Solon fr. 1 applies this idea to Athens, and throws in the weight of *δίκη*. Had he Tyrtaeus' verses in mind?

13 Strabo cites the verse-ending as *τήνδε δέδωκε πόλιν. ἄστν*, which might be the pre-Dorian stronghold, but which is used, as M. L. West points out, of early Sparta by Plutarch (*Lycurgus* 8 *τὴν δὲ εἰς τὸ ἄστν τὴν Σπάρτην συντελοῦσαν [Λακωνικήν]*),¹ allows us to think, as West again suggests, that *ἄστν ἔδωκε* is what Tyrtaeus wrote, since final -*ν* does not elide in hiatus. This would meet the principle laid down by Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen über Syntax* i² pp. 166 ff., that archaic verse does not know the resultative perfect *δέδωκε*.

16 *γλαυκώπιδος*: i.e. Athena. The rhetra quoted in Plut. *Lyc.* 6 calls for a dedication to Zeus Sullanios and Athena Sullania. For Athena in Laconian cult cf. Dümmler in *RE* s.v. *Athena*, col. 1978; Sam Wide, *Lak. Kulte*, pp. 48-62.

2825. MENANDER, *Phasma*

Height 14.5 cm.

Early i A.D.

A number of fragments as originally found have been reduced by combination to 4 pieces of a papyrus roll. It is a well-written copy, 14.5 cm. high, with good upper and lower margins. There are 18 lines in each column of writing. The hand is a bold regular upright capital, of medium size. μ is in 4 movements, resembling the apices of 2 isosceles triangles, and its last stroke is often a curve open to the right; ϵ is rounded, and its

¹ And cf. Theognis 785.

central horizontal may be made in a half circle, and placed high; ν often has a shallow upper bowl, and can be confused with τ . There are serifs on the feet of vertical strokes, and a left-pointing foot to the base of ρ . Comparison with 246, 2654, P. Lond. 354 (Roberts, *Greek Lit. Hands*, 9a) suggests allocation to the early first century after Christ, but the end of the 1st century B.C. could not be excluded. The scribe writes iota adscript (in error at B i 18?), but no punctuation or lectional signs. The only 'dramatic' notation is given by marginal paragraphos, usually coupled with a space in the line. There are no dicola, no names of characters. The surface of the papyrus is rubbed and it is not always easy to read letters or recognize paragraphoi. Not all those expected can be identified. Two oblique lines in the left margin of B col. ii may possibly be query marks or checking-strokes. The scribe makes itacistic errors.

Mr. Lobel first identified the play through the occurrence of fr. 1 "Εμβαρως (B ii 6), Dr. Rea subsequently located fr. 2 in B i 17-18. The only names of characters occurring in the text are Syrus and Chaereas (B iii 17, if the articulation is correct).

Fr. A is independent of the rest (no fibre joins can be made; a clearly recognizable bright brown fibre just above A 4 does not continue into B). Fr. B is composite. Separate pieces give the ends of lines of col. i and the beginning of ii, the joins being confirmed by fibre continuations and shared letters (i 5, ν of *παλιυ*, ii 16, *a* of *και*, ii 18, 2nd *o* of *οιομαι*). The two halves of col. ii are anchored by equidistance of lines, fibre continuations, a very probable shared restoration in v. 16, and a probable shared ν in v. 15; and col. iii is placed by the same means. The detached fr. placed at the head of B col. ii seems to continue fibres of i, has a similar top margin, and if it is part of col. ii (cf. *παντοδ[απ]*) can only be placed there. The position of frs. C and D is unknown.

B ii and iii (from ii 5 certainly) are trochaic tetrameters. B i is in iambic trimeters (17-18 = *Phasma* fr. 2), and therefore the change to tetrameters occurred at the top or in the opening lines of B ii. A is in trimeters (median diaeresis would be violated if restorations were proposed on the supposition that they were tetrameters).

In fr. A a man and his wife (*φιλ']ανερ*, 11) discuss a delicate and intimate matter, the festival at which a girl was raped by a man, and presumably bore a child whose paternity is in question. It is not certain that only two characters play the scene, and that the wife is confessing to her husband, but that could be its tenor.¹

In B i a cook speaks (17-18, perhaps also 4, 8, 9), a slave Syrus is involved and cursed; and from the interchanges we learn that someone 'had a slight touch of melancholia', is now better, and that someone (the same person?) is to 'marry again' (a second marriage, or a marriage which had been put off is now on again).

In col. ii a slave reports to his master (*τρο']φιμε*, 11) on a scene taking place indoors, which it seems that he had spied out. The man spied on, apparently a rival lover (cf. 10, 15), is shamming madness (6, 8, 12). His fit takes the form of kissing a girl all over her face (12-14). The master, who suspects he is being gulled, goes indoors to his sister

¹ E. W. Handley suggests that someone may be instructing a husband how he is to question his wife on her past, and forecasting how the dialogue will go (esp. 5, 7).

from whom he expects to learn the truth; his sister herself he expects to be somewhat despondent in view of the marriage being prepared.

Fr. C (see 2 n.) seems to be the greeting of a master of one of the stage households to his home on returning from abroad.

In *GRBS* 10 (1969), pp. 307–24 I have attempted a reconstruction of this famous play, taking into account also the *membranae Petropolitanae* and the mosaic from the villa at Mytilene which shows a scene from Act II (black-and-white plate in *To Ergon* 1963, fig. 174, *BCH* lxxxviii (1964), p. 802).¹ For photographs of the *membranae* (P. Gr. 388) I am indebted to Dr. V. M. Barashenkov, Director of the Saltikov–Schedrin State Public Library in Leningrad, Dr. I. F. Grigoreva, head of its International Exchange Section, Madame Granstrem, Curator of Manuscripts, and to Professor I. Fikhmann. In the elucidation of the fragments I owe a great deal to Professors E. W. Handley and T. B. L. Webster, Drs. John Rea and Colin Austin, and Mr. W. E. H. Cockle.

¹ A coloured plate is now published in S. Charitonidis, L. Kahil, R. Ginouvès, *Les Mosaiques de la Maison du Ménandre à Mytilène* (Bern, 1970).

Fr. A

Top

] υτιεστιτικαταις.[
]θενουκοιδουσαγαρ[
 παν]νυχιδουσεησκαιχο[
]ανθανεισαρτηνοδ[
 5]ελεγξεισηδερειβρ[
]ωνιοισυπηνικουπ[
]ηπλανηθεισηταλα.[
] ερωτησεισταπρο[
 ...]ειστονειταθαν[
 10]ονπουποτωνλ[
]ανεργνωριμοντ[
].σαρποτενβραυ[
]αιδενθαδιταπ[
 ..]αντιτωνγεγ[
 15].ταπαντης[
].ου[

2 lines lost

1], tiny loop open to left, low down (? ο); at end, high and low ink, ?χ[7 end, an upright
 (ν or ι), αι perhaps slightly more probable 12], a vertical γ deleted or altered Ending
 βραυ read by E. W. H.

Fr. A

- (A) ...].υ τίς ἐστι; τίς καταειχ[ύνει υ - ;
 (B) ...]θεν οὐκ οἶδ'· οὔσα γὰρ[
 παν]γυχίδος οὔσης καὶ χο[ρῶν
 ..μ]ανθάνεις γάρ; τὴν οδ[
 5 ...]ελέγξεις, ἢ δ' ἐρεῖ Βρ[αυρωνίους
 ...]ωνίους κύ· πηνίκ' οὐ π[
 ...]ῆ πλανηθεῖς ἢ τάλαι[να
 ...] () ἐρωτήσεις τὰ προ[
 .. πλ]εῖστον εἶτα θαν[μα-
 10]ον· ποῦ ποτ' ὦν λ[υ - υ -
 υ φίλ'] ἄνερ, γνώριμον τ[
].ς γάρ ποτ' ἐν Βραυ[ρωνι -
]αῖδ' ἐνθαδὶ τὰ π[- υ -
]αντι τῶν γεγ[
 15].ταπαντησ[
].ου[

2 lines lost

Fr. B Col. i

Top

]νυπεμελαγχολη[
]ταννυγιεστερο[
]καιγαμειπαλιν [
]εταιτανδον κυρε[
 5]γειν γαμειπαλιν
]σαδελφην οιχομ[
]σπερειευννορω[
]οτουκαπνουβλεπω[
]ριονκαθαραμια
 10]απολωλε πλησιον
].βελτιστειπεμοι
]δετεραν ακουετε
].ραγαρ[]μετερχεται
].αυτοθενκαλει
 15]ξωλησσυ[.]ε
]ιωνε[....]εμοι
].ιση.[...]εσθεαν
]ηι

Foot

1]ν represented by link low down and vertical 5]γειν less likely 11 Low link before β
 13], υ or χ or κ. Not ε, ο, ω, τ 14], high and low ink, ? c 15 κυ.ε, very high dot of ink,
 perhaps not part of letter 17], high dot of ink

Fr. B Col. i

Top

]ν ὑπεμελαγχόλη[σέ τι
]τα νῦν ὑγιέστερο[
] καὶ γαμεί πάλιν [
]εται τᾶνδον () Κύρε
 5]γειν () γαμεί πάλιν
]ς ἀδελφὴν () οἴχομ[αι
 ὦ]σπερ εἶς σε νῦν ὄρω
]ο τοῦ καπνοῦ βλέπω
]ριον καθαρὰ μία
 10] ἀπόλωλε () πλησίον
] βέλτιστ' εἶπέ μοι
]δετέραν () ἀκούετε
]ρα γὰρ μετέρχεται
] ἀυτόθεν κάλει
 15 ἐ]ξώλης Κύ[ρ]ε
 [ἀπόλοιο]μωνε[...] ἐμοί
 ἐ]πισημ[αίν]εσθ' εἰάν
 [ἡ σκευασία καθάρειος ἦι καὶ ποικίλ]η

Foot

Fr. B Col. ii

]παντοδ[
 .]υπερ.[/
]εκ.ιτ.[/
 / / /]ννοντων.[
 5 οιχο[.]αι τοπαιδιον.[
 αυτοςουκεμβαροσε[.....]τοσυπερο...[
 τοπα[.]αχρημο[.]θωσε[....]απαντοδαπαλε[
 [.]υθελ[....]υνθ... κ[.....]νεμφρονωσημ[
 ενετυχεν τοπραγμα[.....]πινοησεμοιδ[...]. [
 10 / ειταπαλ[.]νεπηξε[.] 8/9]διτοσειμιτις [
 τωνδιδοντωνδεκτρ[]φιμεκατακεκλημεν[
 / αυτοκακοναυτωιπαραστ[.....]κορηστην blank
 απεδετ[.]καμων απολλο[.]μηθαμως νητουςθεου
 ητοχιλοσαμαφιλωντικαικ[.]τισταταυτικω
 15 εστερωπαυσε[.]γαρουτωσανι.....τηντοτε
καιπαρασκωπτειςμε εγωσεματοναπολλωγωμενου
 εισιωνπροστηναδελφηνηπα[.....]σομαισαφω
 οιομαιδαυτηναθυμειν[.....]ουμενωι.αμωι

3 There may be a letter before ε; high ink in 3rd place, λ (or α), not ε
 base of 2 round letters, vertical with high finial to left, followed by trace on line
 10 A vertical after ηξε, ν suitable
 13 Dot of ink above κ

6 After υπε, ν or λι,
 8 After υνθ high
 11 κατακεκλει-

Fr. B Col. ii

]παντοδ[απ

.]υπερ.[

].εκ.ιτ.[

υ υ] νῦν ὄντων .[

- 5 () οἴχο[μ]αι () τὸ παιδίον[
 αὐτός. οὐκ ἔμβαρός ἐστιν οὐ]τος. ὑπερόον[
 τὸ πα[ρ]αχρημ' ὀ[ρ]θῶς· () ε[...]α παντοδαπὰ λε[- υ --
 () [ο]ύθ' ἐν [...]νθ... () κ[...]ν ἐμφρόνως ημ[- υ -
 ἐνέτυχεν. () τὸ πρᾶγμα [...] ἐ]πινοῆσαι μοι δο[κε]ί.
- 10 / () εἶτα πάλ[ι]ν ἐπῆξε[...] () ἀναφρό]διτός εἰμί τις.
 () τῶν διδόντων δ' εἰς τρ[οφήν γ' εἰ, τρό]φιμε, κατακεκλημέν[ην].
 / ἂν τὸ κακὸν αὐτῷ παραστ[ῆι τῆς] κόρης τὴν *blank*
 ἀπέδετ[αι] καμών. () Ἄπολλο[ν,] μῆθαμῶς. () νὴ τοὺς θεούς,
 ἢ τὸ χεῖλος ἄμα φιλῶν. () τί; () καὶ κ[ρά]τιστα ταῦτ' ἴσως
- 15 ξ'στ', ἐρῶν παύσε[ι] γὰρ οὕτως ἂν αὐτὴν τότε.
 () καὶ παρασκώπτεις μ'; () ἐγώ σε; μὰ τὸν Ἄπόλλω 'γὰρ μὲν οὔ.
 () εἰσιῶν πρὸς τὴν ἀδελφὴν πά[ντ' ἀκού]σομαι σαφῶς·
 οἴομαι δ' αὐτὴν ἀθυμεῖν [τῷ πο]ουμένωι γάμῳι.

Fr. B Col. iii

.
]τηνθυραν[
 ατοπονεστ[
 15 καιμαχεσθ[
 διατονουκ[
 χαιρεανειπ[
 [..].ι. αντα[
 Foot

13 Read by E. W. H.

18 Possibly [οὐ]χὶ πάντα[

Fr. C

Top?
]...
]αροικαναξ
].ντοραν
]
 5]αι

3 First letter ο or ε; in 3rd place γ also possible

Fr. D

.
].ηι
]..ω
].ω.[
].

1]ληι. Not χηι

2 ?].χω

3.[upright, and then stripped

Fr. A 1-7 (A, husband?) 'Who is it? Who is bringing shame . . .?' (B, wife?) ['He's undetected,] I don't know. I was a . . . there was an all-night festival and dances . . . can't you understand? My [pain?] . . . You will question her. She will say the festival of the Brauronia, you say the festival of . . . when was . . .? wandered away alone, poor wretch . . .'

Line 3 demands restoration παν]νυχίδος. This line could be tetrameter. But 3, if tetrameter, would have no median diaeresis. Given trimeters this must be first word in the verse, therefore 3 letters (or a maximum of 4) are lost on the left of this column. On Pannychis cf. *Epitr.* 276, 298; *Samia* 46 Austin; *Dysk.* 857; Call. fr. 227 Pf. and D. B. Thompson, *J.E.A.* 1 (1964), pp. 147-63.

1 Hardly ἰδοῦ or ὄδ'] αὖ (? τὸδ'] αὖ).

2 E.g. λέλη]θεν, τὸ ῥη]θέν.

4 οὐ μ]ανθάνεις γάρ; The speaker of 2-4 perhaps never reached a main verb. For an aposiopesis in a similar delicate situation cf. *Ephitrep.* 761-2 ταύτην λαβὼν | χορῶν ἀποσπασθεῖσαν—(followed by) αἰσθάνει γε; and F. H. Sandbach, *Proc. Camb. Philol. Soc.* cxcii (1967), p. 46. 2 might therefore continue οὐσα γὰρ [κόρη τότε, and 3 end with a nominative participle with χορ[ῶν.

οδ[: ὄδ[όν, ὄδοῦ, or ὄδύνην?

5 E.g. οὐκ ἐξ]ελέγξεις; C. Austin. ἦδ' would suggest a woman actually present.

Br[αυρωνίους, E. W. Handley; cf. 12 ἐν *Brav[ρω-* (festival or place). Cf. L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, pp. 207 seq.

6 If the restoration of 3 is right, one's impression is that in spite of lines beginning progressively further to the left (cf. B ii) a repetition of *Bravp]ωνίους* must be too long for the space. The testimonies envisaged must therefore disagree on the festival concerned. *Ἄδ]ωνίους* would probably fill the space (on the Attic *Adonia*, L. Deubner, l.c., pp. 220 seqq.; *Samia* 39 Austin; it also includes a *pannychis*. *Παν]ωνίους* would make difficulties of locale.

Continue *πηνίκ'*; or *πηνίκ'* οὐ π[αρήν ἐγώ, π[αρήσθα σύ, π[αρήν τροφός;

7 Cf. *Ephitrep.* 310 ἐπλανήθη γὰρ μεθ' ἡμῶν οὐς' ἐκεῖ. Here we may have nominative]η πλανηθεῖς' ἢ τάλαι]να or dative]η πλανηθείσῃ, τάλαν]. The first syllable may be [κόρη]; or [μόν]η, C. Austin (who prefers the dative).

11 ἄνερ, not ᾠνερ is to be read. The collocation φίλ' ἄνερ is found in fr. 148 Koe. Another short syllable must here precede φίλ'.

13]αι: e.g. τὴν π]αῖδ' (E. W. Handley) or 3rd person verbal termination -ται δ', or infinitive.

14 E.g. ἀντὶ (?) τῶν γεγ[ενημένων, γεγ[ραμμένων.

Fr. B col. i Of these trimeters (cf. introd.) only the second half survives. Those present must include a cook (17-18), Syrus, and probably a third (ἀκούετε 12). οἴχομαι (6; spoken by the same person B ii 5?) may be figurative 'It's all up with me', or literal 'I am leaving'. Perhaps in 14 ἀυτόθεν κάλει the τρόφιμος in B ii is giving instructions to summon his spying slave. At 1]ν, e.g. τὸ πρότερον]ν (E. W. H.) ὑπεμελαγχολήσ[ε τι | [ἀλλ' ἔτσι (τοῦτον) ὄν]τα νῦν ὑγιέστερον]ν | [κρότωνος]. ὑπομελαγχολᾶν, *addendum lexicis*, cf. ὑπομαίνομαι, *Ephitrep.* 558. κρότωνος suggested by E. W. Handley, cf. fr. 263 Koe., *Koneiaz.* 6, 'He's righter than a trivet.'

3, 5 γαμει πάλιν: we may accent γάμει imperative or γαμεί, question or statement, 2nd pers. sing. future middle or 3rd pers. sing. present. If the scene is mainly servants' chatter, the last is more likely. πάλιν would naturally be interpreted of a second marriage or remarriage; but it seems not to be excluded that it may mean 'his marriage is on again', 'he is going to marry after all'.

7-8 A capping of the phrase by the cook would be in place, e.g.

7 τὸ πρᾶγμα (hardly φάσμα) φανερόν ὦ]σπερ εἶ κε νῦν ὄρω;

8 ἔγωγε μέντοι πῦρ ἀπ]ὸ τοῦ καπνοῦ βλέπω.

E. W. Handley suggests that if there were real smoke (cf. *Dysk.* 550) the cook might rejoin ἐγὼ δ' ἄδηλα πάνθ' ὑπ]ὸ κτλ.

9 παιδά]ριον, J. H. Kells. The cook is missing a clean λοπάς, κύλιξ, or the like.

12 οὐ]δετέραν?

13 Not λου]τρά (for which cf. *Samia* 729 Austin).

15-16 εἰ]ξίωλης, Κύ]ρ]ε, | [ἀπόλοιο. ἀπόλοιο, C. A., E. W. H.

17-18 *Phasma* fr. 1 Koe. ἐπισημαίνεσθ' may be infinitive (cf. Athenaeus, cod. A) as easily as imperative, and κευακία may refer to the tableware as well as to the cooking.

18 Since the scribe usually writes iota adscript correctly (e.g. B ii 12) one wonders whether the iota here is in error, or the text does not agree with Athenaeus' quotation.

Fr. B col. ii 1 παντοδ[απ-: cf. 7, *Dysk.* 184. Of the cook's recipes, the tableware, or used to effect a transition to another topic? In the Aristotelian *Problem xxx* the word is used in a physiological or medical sense, of the different effects of melancholia and wine on men (τὰ ἦθη γίνονται παντοδαποί).

5 τὸ παιδίον must take its meaning from the context. I suppose it to refer to the κόρη of I. 12.

6 The stop after *αὐτός* and restoration of *οὐδ[τος]* are due to E. W. Handley, who compares the metrical pattern of *Ph.* 181–2 (in trimeters, of course). **Εμβαρως*, *Phasma* fr. 2 Koe.

Unless *ἐ[ει γὰρ]* is to be restored instead of *ἐ[ε[τιν]* (which seems unlikely), the quantity is **Εμβᾶρος*. The negative shows that the supposed distinction (Hesychius, s.v. **Εμβαρως*) between **Εμβαρως* in *Phasma* and οὐκ **Εμβαρως* in *Rhaphizomene* falls to the ground. The proverb is applied ἐπὶ τῶν παραπαιόντων καὶ μεμνηότων, *Paroemiogr. Gr.* i 402 ed. Leutsch. ‘He’s no simple Simon.’ The subject, as of all the third-person singular verbs, is presumably Pheidias, the lover who is shamming mad, the same person who in B col. i 1 is described as ὑπομελαγχολῶν.

ὑπεν . . . : ὑπενόουν is the most satisfactory reading. For ὑπονοέω cf. *Samia* 551 Austin. Assuming that the reporter is justifying his allusion οὐκ **Εμβαρως*, we might continue ὑπενόουν [ᾄρα (or ἐγώ, or the like) τὸ πα[ρ]αχρηῆμ’ ὀ[ρ]θῶς, ‘I was right, then, to suspect him from the start.’ This line might then go on ἐ[πειτ]α παντοδαπὰ λέ[γοντά γε. Thereafter change of speaker and the first part of 8 would be a question; the narrative would be resumed at the end of 8, and in the first word of 9. Less probably ὀρθῶς, instead of qualifying ὑπενόουν, might qualify a following ἐ[ρῶντ]α, ‘I suspected from the start that he was really in love’ (for this use of ὀρθῶς = ‘truly’, cf. Plato, *Phd.* 67 b τοὺς ὀρθῶς φιλομαθεῖς; Diphilus 102, τὸν ὀρθῶς κυγγενῆ).

8 The η in l. 14 below has a top-left-facing finial. The letter after υθ may therefore be η (υ leads to nothing satisfactory). Possibly [ο] ὀθῆν [ἤ]χ[η] ὑνθη γε, ‘he was not at all abashed then?’

In the second half of the verse median diaeresis presumably falls after υ, and it is desirable to carry the sentence over to ἐνέτυχεν, which itself seems to be leading up to ἐπηξέ, l. 10. ἐνέτυχεν could hint at sexual intercourse (cf. Plut. *Solon* 20). The slave’s report would then be a counterpart of Chremes’ narrative to Antipho in Terence, *Eun.*

η after ἐμφρόνως does not have to be disjunctive, but I have found nothing better than, e.g., ἡμ[ύ]νετο], ἡμ[έ]βετο]. κ[. . .]ν: κ[αὶ νῦ]ν, κ[αιρὸ]ν?

9–18 (A = Master) ‘I think he has the thing worked out right.’ (B = Slave) ‘Then he rushed (?) [at her?] again.’ (A) ‘I’m really unlucky in love.’ (B) ‘You belong to the group, master, which [puts] caged [girl on his menu]. If the trouble comes upon him, in his illness he may [perhaps] eat the girl’s [nose] away.’ (A) ‘Apollo, don’t say that.’ (B) ‘Yes, by the gods, he will, or else devour her lips with kisses.’ (A) ‘What?’ (B) ‘And perhaps that’s for the best, for you will stop being in love on the spot if you [see] her then.’ (A) ‘Aren’t you gulling me?’ (B) ‘I gull you? Not I, by Apollo.’ (A) ‘I’ll go indoors to my sister, and [hear] a full and clear account. I fancy she is depressed at the marriage which is afoot.’

9 ἐπινοῆσε perhaps miswritten for ἐπινοῆσαι (cf. 13), E. W. H. After *πρᾶγμα* an adverb would be welcome (perhaps beginning with α? e.g. ἀηθῶς?). ἀληθῶς seems rather long, but is perhaps possible. If the last word in the line were 2nd person δο[κ]ε[ι]ς, a trace of the c might be expected to show.

10 There is an oblique stroke in the left-hand margin opposite this verse, as of v. 12, of unknown meaning. In v. 12 the last words are omitted. Short strokes in the B.M. Herondas papyrus mark textual queries or corrections.

ἐπηξέ is aorist from ἐπαίεω, cf. *Samia* 261 Austin ἀπηξεν. E. W. H. suggests ἐπηξέ. [() ἡν κτλ.

11 *Phasma* 12 Koe. has δίδωσί τ’ ἐκτρέφειν. The restoration suggested assumes a series of word-plays culminating in ἀπέδετ[αι] 13 and χεῖλος 14. εἰς τρ[οφήν] was first conjectured by E. W. Handley, who followed it with ἦν and κατακεκλημέν[η] and saw a reference to a third party. Conceivably ἐκτρ[οφήν] could be retained as accusative in apposition to κεκλημέν[η] and descriptive of it. For δέ . . . γε cf. Denniston, *Greek Particles*², pp. 152–3; *Epitrep.* 759. The form in -κεκλειμένος is that accepted by most editors.

12 Nothing is written after κόρης τήν, as though the scribe could not read his exemplar. ῥίν’ ἕως, E. W. Handley.

13 There is room for only 1 letter after ἀπέδετ[αι]. I suppose ε to have been written for αι. With ἀπέδεται cf. κατέδομαι, *Dysk.* 124, 468. For μηθαμῶς cf. *Samia* 573 Austin.

14 τί is not marked off by spaces.

15 ἔστ’ read by E. W. Handley (for the shape of ε cf. ε in εἰτα, l. 10).

15 Cf. *Samia* 350 Austin πέπαυε' ἐρώων. ἄν ἴδῃς, Handley, gives an excellent sense, but is not verifiable.

16 Cf. *Samia* 596 Austin καὶ βουκολεῖς με;

18 The line-ending was read after the article in *GRBS* was in proof.

Fr. B col. iii 17 Other articulations are possible, e.g. "χαῖρ'" ἐὰν εἴπ[-.

Fr. C 2 The restoration Ἄπολλον ὦ πάροις' ἄναξ is due to E. W. Handley, on the basis of Plautus *Bacchides* 172 saluto te, uicine Apollo, qui aedibus propinquos nostris accolis. D. B. Thompson adds *A. Vesp.* 875 ὦ δέσποτ' ἄναξ, γείτον' Ἀγνιεύ τοῦμοῦ προθύρου προπύλαιε.

Col. ii

- 16 (T) [ὁ Ζε]ῦς ὁ ζωτῆρ ἀπ[
 [ἐ]μὲ πρῶτον ὅτι [
 [γ]αμετῆν ἐνομι[ις-
 οὐ μείζον ἐστ' οὐδ' ἐν
- 20 (S) σφόδρ' ἂν δοκη[.]
 (T) τίς ἐστιν ὁ λαλῶν [
 (S) τρόφιμε (T) τί ποιεῖς . . [
 (S) οὐκ ἀστρονομῶ μὰ τὸν [Δι', οὐδὲ
 τῆν ἄρκτον, ὀδυνῶμ[αι δ'
 25 [ὄρ]ῶν σε χειμαζόμενο[ν (T?)
 [C]ύρε (S) νῆ τὸν Ἀπόλλω .[

9 βρ]αχύ or τ]αχύ, latter more common in Menander.

16 ἀπ[ολέσαι κακὸν κακῶς: cf. *Dysk.* 138-9, 220-1, *Sicy. fr.* 11, 5, *Epitr.* 248-9.

18 <ν>ενόμ[ικα?: cf. *Pk.* 239.

19 For ἐστ' cf. *Dysk.* 297, 332. οὐ is also possible for the first word.

21 Does this signal the entrance of a new person? Cf. Handley ad *Dysk.* 301.

24 Cf. prologue to Plautus' *Rudens* spoken by Arcturus. He was said to be the son of the bear (Kallisto) who gives the name to this constellation, see *RE* s.vv. *Arktos* and *Arkturos*.

25 ἰδ]ῶν also possible. For χειμαζόμενο[ν see 2654 i 1, 6-9 (*Karchedonios*) and Menander fr. 335, 7.

26 The only known New Comedy name to fit here is *Κύρος* but] . could also be β.

2827. ANON., NEW COMEDY

3.0 × 4.0 cm.

2nd century

This fragment is a very small scrap of heavy, dark papyrus. The hand is a medium-sized formal, round book-hand of the second century of our era (cf. *P. Graec. Berol.* 31). The question and dicolon at the end of line 5 and the possibly second-person singular verb forms in lines 3 and 4 point to a dialogue.

	]α.		]α.
	].σιτε		].σιτε
	].χθαγαρ		ο]ῖχθα γάρ
	]τυχεε		-]τυχεε
5	]λλατί:	5	ἀ]λλὰ τί:
	]αιδια		τὰ π]αιδία
	].ονα		].ονα

1]α., low traces, possibly random ink
 2], low trace of vertical
 upright, η or ι

3],
 7]. high trace on edge

3 Possibly ο]ῖχθα γάρ, cf. *Epitr.* 365, *Sam.* 317.

4 -ε]τυχεε, δυε]τυχεε or εὐ]τυχεε.

5 ἀ]λλὰ τί: cf. *Sam.* 348, *Mis.* 168 (2656).

6 τὰ π]αιδία or ἡ π]αιδιά.

2828. ANON., NEW COMEDY

4.9 × 4.6 cm.

3rd century

A scrap of dialogue in trimeters. The name Philotis in line 5 places it as New Comedy. The top two lines are very faint and appear to be in a different hand. Spacing suggests that they do not belong to the rest of the text, the faintness, that they may be offsets. The legible lines are written in the well-known severe or 'mixed' style, cf. 12, 15, 223 to which it is most similar.

].[
]....[
	<u>καιτουτ</u> 'α.[		<u>καὶ τουτ</u> ' ἀ.[
	ὄδαπολεσα[		ὄδ' ἀπολέσα[-
5	<u>φιλωτι</u> · κυν[	5	<u>Φιλῶτι</u> · κυν[-
	νητουεθεου[		νῆ τουε θεού[ε
	ουγαρλεγων[		οὐ γὰρ λέγω γ[-
	οικανμαθογ[		οἷε ἀν μαθογ[-
	ελεον· κυνορ[		ἔλεον· κυνορ[-
10	ξειτικκορ[[ο]]'η'ν.[	10	εἴ τις κόρηγν .[

1].[, a very faint trace of an upright
 horizontal. A medium high trace surrounded by four traces forming a square, η, κ, or χ. Then a trace of a long descender, ρ or υ
 3 Trace above κ, possibly part of it .[, trace of a vertical γ, η, κ, μ, ν, σι π
 5 A trace of ink above φ, possibly the remains of a paragraphos. The dot above ε is a later addition, probably for punctuation as deleting ε would result in nonsense
 10 .[, a faint tiny trace, quite high

4 ἀπολέσα[ι or ἀπολέσα[ε.

5 For the vocative Φιλῶτι cf. *Δωρί* (*Pk.* 208, 333, etc.) and *Σαρᾶπι* Mayser i 1, 265. Note also the protactic character in Terence's *Heqyra* of the same name. But φιλω τι is an alternative articulation.

9 κυνορ[άω or κυνορ[γίζομαι.

EXTANT CLASSICAL AUTHORS

2829. MENANDER, *Epitrepontes*

Height of col. ii 19.2 cm.

3rd/4th century

After Pack² 1301 (Cairensis, hereafter C), 1302 (1236), 1319 (Didot rthesis),¹ and the membranæ Petropolitanae (Petr. Graec. 388), this set of ten fragments, mentioned by E. G. Turner in his edition of the *Misoumenos* (*BICS* Sup. 17, p. 3) is the fifth copy of the *Epitrepontes* to be published. The four larger fragments duplicate material found in C and vary only slightly from it with the exception of line 51. The six small fragments which apparently do not duplicate C add very little to our knowledge of the play. Of the six it is possible that IX and X were not written by the same hand as the others. Two of the six can be placed provisionally and one may actually belong to column vii of this roll. There is one unusual scribal error, also found at *Samia* 587–8 (P. Bodmer xxv), where the first word of 141 is written as the last of 140. A somewhat similar mistake is found in C and P. Bodmer xxv at *Samia* 308–9, where the last word of 308 is written as the first of 309. The hand, like those of 2656 (*Misoumenos*) and P. Bodmer iv (*Dyskolos* = Pack² 1298), is a semi-documentary one with cursive α , β , ϵ , μ , ξ , and ω and frequent ligatures. The obviously practised script, with its large and flamboyant letters, resembles most closely P. Herm. Rees 2, 3, and 4 which are securely dated to the early fourth century. This copy was in use for a long time as there are patches on the verso of Ia (scored across with ink) and V. On the verso of IV are traces of ink: $\lambda\phi\gamma$. There are also traces on the back of X. An attempt is made in *H.S.C.P.* 75 (1971), pp. 135–9 to trace in more detail than is appropriate here the contribution of 2829 to the text of this play. The line numeration is taken from Koerte's text.

¹ If indeed this belongs to *Epitrepontes*.

Fr. I (a) Col. i

]..[
].:επιτρεπτεον[
]υλομαικρεινω[
 45]δικαιαδε [

I (b)

]τινος[...].]εγομενπρα[
 50]μελει κριτη[...].]υτι.[
].νικονειδητι[
]ημας: ωκακι[
]γοντεςπεριπατ[
]λ'ομωστο.[
 55]αθεινπατε[

44 l. κρινω[

48 l. ημιν[

- Cv. φεύγει τὸ δίκαιον. Δα. κυκ]οφ[αντεῖς, δυστυχής.
 Cv. οὐ δεῖ εἶ ἔχειν τὰ μὴ] ζ'. (Δα.) ἐπιτρεπτόν [τινί
 ἐστι περὶ τούτων. Cv. βο]ύλομαι. <Δα.> κρινώ[μεθα.
 45 Cv. τίς οὖν; Δα. ἐμοὶ μὲν πᾶς ἰκανός]ς· δίκαια δὲ
 πᾶσχω· τί γάρ σοι μετε]δίδουν; (Cv.) τοῦτ[ον λαβεῖν
 βούλει κριτήν; Δα. ἀγαθῆ]ι τύχη. (Cv.) πρὸς τ[ῶν θεῶν,
 βέλτιστε, μικρὸν ἂν ε]χολάσαις ἡμῖν [χρόνον;
 Cμ. ὑμῖν; περὶ] τίνος; [Cv. ἀντιλ]έγομεν πρᾶ[γμα τι.
 50 Cμ. τί οὖν ἐμο]ι μέλει; (Cv.) κριτή]ν τούτο]ν τινα
 ζητοῦμ]εν ἴσον· εἰ δὴ τι
 διάλυσον] ἡμᾶς. (Cμ.) ὦ κάκι]στ' ἀπολούμενοι,
 δίκας λε]γοντες περιπατ[εῖτε διφθέρας
 ἔχοντες; Cv. ἀλ]λ' ὅμως· τὸ π[ρᾶγμ' ἐστὶν βραχὺ
 55 καὶ ῥάδιον μ]αθεῖν· πάτε]ρ, δὸς τὴν χάριν·

42-9 The line divisions are difficult, see *H.S.C.P.*, loc. cit.

44 C has *ἔστι περὶ τούτων: βούλομαι κρινώμεθα:*

51 δὴ confirms the emendation made by Wilamowitz and others of C's δέ, but τι is certainly an indication that the line did not continue in our text as it did in C. Possibly τι is a mistake and the line should read as Koerte has it.

Fr. II Col. ii

	μηκατα[	65	πραχθεν[	καθι[
	καιρωιτ[		εντωιδα[	ανει[
	καιτονπ[		τουτων[	75 τρεφ[
	εχεινπρ[		βελτιστε[	ενν.[
60	παντων[		κακκειμ[	διδου[
	τιγαρμε[	70	εχονδερε[	τιπαι[
	οικανδικ[		κοσμον:[	τοσαυ[
	τοκω[.]υορ[		εανλ[.]λη[	80 τοιου.[
	δα°μεικρον[

60 C has a paragraphos 62 no paragraphos in C, but ample other indications of change of speaker 64 l. μικρον[, δα° confirms very faint reading of C 70-5 confirm restorations of C

Fr. III Col. v

135 κα[c. 5], οσιπ[.]ησιμ[c. 11]. ο.[
 ..ι.....ιτηρεισθ'ε[c. 8] αφη [
 .τορλε .ωπ .δυτηκοτ[c. 9]]εχειν[
 [c. 12]ταλλ[.].[c. 7]γτοτε [
 [c. 7]ανον[.]ουτ'ο.[.]απητ[.]υνηταυτασε [
 [c. 3]. παρεμοιτουτ'ηνυπερτουτ . λεγων [
 140 [.]κω .εκαινυγουκεμαυτους'ουδεενιδιον [
 [c. 7]κοιγο .ερ .ησιμηδεεν [
 [c. 8]ουπρο[.]εστισωμα .[c. 8].ον [
 [c. 10]τ[c. 5]τι[.]αλλαφ[.]ιρεσι[...] [
 [c. 21]ρεσθ'ουτ[.]σει [
 145 [c. 20]εισενεργαταις [
 [c. 27]φ[c. 4] [
 144 l. ουτ[.]ει

κα[τὰ τὴν] δόξιν [τ]ῆς μ[ητρός, ἥτις ἦν] ποτ[ε,
 135 τῶι παιδίῳι τηρεῖσθ', εἰ[ως ἂν ἐκτρ]αφῆ,
 ἢ τὸν λελωποδυτηκότ' [αὐτὸν ταῦτ'] ἔχειν,
 εἰ πρῶτος εὖρε] τὰλλ[ό]τ[ρια. τί οὖ]ν τότε,
 ὅτ' ἐλάμβ]ανον [τ]οῦτ', οὐ[κ] ἀπήτ[ο]ν ταῦτά σε ;
 οὐπ]ῶ παρ' ἐμοὶ τοῦτ' ἦν· ὑπὲρ τούτου λέγων
 140 ἦ]κω δὲ καὶ νῦν, οὐκ ἐμαυτοῦ σ' οὐδὲ ξὺν ἴδιον
 ἀπαιτῶν.] κοινὸς Ἑρμῆς ; μηδὲ ἐν
 εὕρεσθ', ὅπ]ου πρό[σ]εστι σῶμ' ἀ[δικούμε]γον.
 οὐχ εὕρεσις] τ[οῦτ' ἔσ]τιν] ἀλλ' ἀφ[α]ίρεσι[ς.
 βλέψον δὲ κάκει, πάτερ, ἴσω]ς ἔσθ' οὐτ[ο]σὶ
 145 ὁ παῖς ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς καὶ τραφ]εῖς ἐν ἐργάταις
 ὑπερόψεται ταῦτ', εἰς δὲ τὴν αὐτοῦ] φ[ύσιν

139 Reading of C confirmed against emendation of Leo, see my article in *H.S.C.P.*, loc. cit.

Fr. IV Col. vi

].[.].[
].τι[
].οδιδο.[
]ααφα.[
 175]νντιτ[
]ρηκ[.]· κρ[
]λευκριτ[
]. παιδ. ου[
]παιδιον[
 180]ουγναδικ[
]π. . ιοντο[
]ολλαγαθας[
]ητονδια[
]ντ[.]π[
 185]κ[.]. απο[

- ἰσχυ[ρὸ]ν[οῖται τι πρὸς τὸ πρᾶγμα ἔχειν.
 οὐκ ἔστι[δίκαιον· εἴ τι τῶν τούτου σε δεῖ
 ἀποδιδόν[αι, καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς ζητεῖς λαβεῖν,
 ἵν'] ἀσφαλ[έστερον πονηρεύσῃ πάλιν,
 175 ἐ]ἰ νῦν τι τῶν τούτου céσωκεν ἢ Τύχη.
 εἴ]ρηκ[α]· κρ[ῖνον ὅ τι δίκαιον νενομίκας.
 Cμ. ἀλλ' εὔκριτ' ἐ]στί· πάντα τὰ συνεκκείμενα
 το]ῦ παιδ[ί]ου[ἔ]στί· τοῦτο γινώσκω. Δα. καλῶς·
 τὸ]παιδίον[δ'; Cμ. οὐ γνῶσομ' εἶναι, μὰ Δία, σοῦ
 180 τ]οῦ νῦν ἀδικ[οῦντος, τοῦ βοηθοῦντος δὲ καὶ
 ἐ]πεξιώντο[ς τὰδικεῖν μέλλοντί σοι.
 Cυ. π]όλλ' ἀγαθὰ c[οι γένοιτο. Δα. δεινὴ γ' ἡ κρίσις,
 ν]ῆ τὸν Δία[τὸν σωτήρ'· ἅπανθ' εὐρῶν ἐγὼ
 ἅπα]ντ[α] π[ερίεσπασμ', ὁ δ' οὐχ εὐρῶν ἔχει.
 185 οὐ]κ[οῦ]ν ἀπο[διδῶ; Cμ. φημί. Δα. δεινὴ γ' ἡ κρίσις,

Unplaced Fragments

V

]εισομαι[
]ειθαικ[
].ειπαλαι [
]...λ[

2 *cθa* written over traces of *θ* and possibly *ν* or *χ*; *ε* has trace of a cross-bar; *κ* correction of *ι* or *ιδ* 3],, upper portion of a vertical. Only tail of *λ* joining *a* remains, but spacing makes *λ* almost certain 4]...λ[trace of a vertical followed by a gap then upward-sloping oblique or curve, then a horizontal. *λ* intersection of two obliques, *δ*, *μ*, or *ν* are also possible

Blank space at the top, 0.7 cm., top of column, metrically can be the end of trimeters which the spacing at the end of line 3 supports.

VI

]ξ[
].[.]οιτος εξοτο .[.] [
]ενε . .[c. 2]τ'εξο[
]ωνεμοι: τιφη .ιμε[

2],, low trace of a vertical .[.] [, faint traces, then hole, then a low trace followed by a trace of a vertical 3 ..[, long cross-bar of *ε* touches horizontal, then traces of a vertical and cross-bar, *ε*, or *θ*, or *ε* if cross-bar continuation of previous stroke 4 At .ι, before ι low traces of a vertical then traces of end of top of *c* or cross-bar

2 ἀπ[ό]κ[ι]οιτος? Cf. *Epitr.* 10 and P. Ant. 15, 11. *ξξ* ὄτου[but only found in Crates fr. 37 K. and Eupolis fr. 254 K. F. H. Sandbach points out that *ξξ* ὄτ[ο]υπερ may occur at *Sik.* 77.

VII

]..[
]ηφ'ολωσ [
]βουλετ. [
].πεπειεμξ.[

1].[, bottom of a low curve opening upwards, position strongly suggests *ξ*, cf. VI. Then a tiny low trace 3 τ., a tiny vertical trace at the end of the cross-bar of τ, both *a* and *o* are possible and there is enough space in the hole for ι 4],, a vertical and then horizontal traces, *ε*? .[, a high trace

2 εἰλ]ηφ' ὄλωσ?

3 βούλετα[ι or ε]βούλετο[.

4].πέπειεμ' ἐγ[ώ or].πεπειεμεν[- but no other use of this form in Menander.

The meagreness of both fragments VI and VII makes any attempt to place them or determine the subject-matter a highly speculative enterprise. If ἀπ[ό]κ[ι]οιτος and *ξξ* ὄτου are correct, the person referred to is obviously, as in l. 10, Charisios. The dicolon in VI, 4 indicates that there is more than one person on stage. The meaning of VI, 2 must be that Charisios has not lived with his wife since he married. I suspect that fragment VII is concerned with Smikrines' wish to persuade his daughter to leave her husband and that the speaker is Smikrines himself, although it could be another person.

It is plausible to suppose that VI and VII are located somewhere near the identified parts of the

text, i.e. before l. 42 or after l. 185. Assuming this, the most opportune place is before l. 42. The gap of approximately ten verses after l. 23 seems most appropriate because there are three speakers on stage and the subject of what remains of Smikrines' lines is the situation of his daughter and son-in-law as he sees it. There is also room before l. 1 and after l. 41. In the latter case it is questionable whether Smikrines is the speaker. It must be mentioned that lines 1-41 belong to the 'Petersburg' fragment and that the placing of it in relation to C is not entirely certain.

VIII

]...ϑθ[
]αναξ.[

1]...], low traces of two long verticals π? Then traces of a low curve and cross-bar, ε? Then a vertical and traces of a high horizontal and high and low traces of a vertical, η, ν, or π 2 .[, a low trace

2 -]αν ἀξι[- or]ἀναξ[: both possible in Menander; or part of ἀνάξιος.

IX

]..[
]αυτηηπ[
]..[

1]..[, a small vertical crossed in the middle by a horizontal. A long vertical followed by a high horizontal: possibly three letters 2 This form of η is unlike any other in this set of fragments and leads one to think that this scrap is by a different hand and may not even belong to this roll, but cf. P. Bodmer 4 (*Dyskolos*) in which one page is by a different hand from the rest 3]..[, traces of a horizontal through two letter spaces

2 This will fit *Epitr.* 188, but the traces in 1 are difficult to reconcile with 187. If this is *Epitr.* 187-9 the scrap belongs to column vii of this roll.

X

]εθγυω[
]υδε.[

2 If δ is correct the form is unparalleled in this set of fragments .[, trace of ink on a fibre

2830. MENANDER, *Perikeiromene*

7·8 × 13·6 cm.

3rd cent.

A fragment from the head of a papyrus roll containing traces of the ends of lines of one column and beginnings of 20 verses in a second. The latter coincide with *Pk.* 223-42. The hand is a medium-sized, quickly written documentary cursive to be assigned to the second half of the third century. The scribe wrote *scriptio plena* (231, 235), but usually marked elision by apostrophe (once also after ουκ', 230). Changes of speaker are shown by double dots (at 229 they are a subsequent insertion) and by paragrafhoi. There is one apparent marginal *nota personae* (224). Since some horizontal

fibres are lost it is possible that more paragraphoi were written than can now be discerned. The papyrus (referred to as O) helps to elucidate a scene given (only in part) by both the Cairo Codex (C) and the *Schedae Lipsienses* (A. Koerte, *S.B. Leipzig* lx (1908), pp. 145 seqq.), cited as L. The text is carelessly copied (one verse is certainly unmetrical), but it contains three clear improvements (225, 229, 240), and suggests ways of escape from some other difficulties.

i	ii
	223
]οπως	π [□] <u>τηρωντ'εμαντονειστομ</u> [
].ν: /	225
].ς.	<u>πεισθητιμοι: τιδεστινοκ</u> [
].	<u>ορθωσμ'ερωτασεγωδη</u> [
].	<u>αβροτονονεπισημηγογ</u> [
.	230
.	<u>πρωτοναποπεμφοντουστ</u> [
.	<u>κακωσγεπολεμειστονπ</u> [
	<u>εξονλαβεινκατακρατος: ουτδ</u> [
	<u>παταικοςεξολλυειν: ουκ'εσθ'η</u> [
	<u>προστωνθεωνανθρωπεα</u> [
	<u>ωμηνσεποιησειντικαιγαρα</u> [
	<u>εχειστιπροσπολι</u> [
	<u>δυνασαιτ'αναβα</u> [
	235
	<u>λαικαστριαησχυ</u> [
	<u>ειμεντοιουτ'ην</u> [
	<u>υμειστογεγον</u> [
	<u>οιονλεγειςπα</u> [
	<u>εγωγαμετ</u> [
	240
	<u>τιςδ'εσθ'οδ</u> [
	<u>ηρεσ</u> [
	<u>α</u> [

226 First ν in νον altered

Col. i 1-5 These line-endings fall in the lacuna in C between J⁴ and E³.

Col. ii Vv. 223-9 Koe. are only in L, 230 seqq. in both L and C (the beginnings of 230-6 damaged in C).

223 *τηρων τ'* was assigned to Polemon by Koerte, to Sosias by Capps. There is a paragraphos below the line in O, but this may refer simply to the change of speaker in mid verse. L is damaged at 223 and 224, and no initial paragraphoi are given in Koerte. O ought certainly to have a paragraphos below 226, and it is not there.

224 Two dots of ink in left margin look like verticals of Π[□], perhaps a *nota personae*. If this refers to the second half of the verse *τι δ' εστιν κτλ.* it supports Koerte's allocation of these words to Polemon, an allocation now further confirmed by μ' in 225.

225 *ορθωσερωταις*, L. The addition of μ' is welcome. In the light of it, E. W. Handley would now repunctuate *ἐρωταίς· νῦν ἐγὼ δὴ τᾶλλ' ἐρῶ*. O has omitted a syllable after *ἐρωταίς*.

226 The omission of the paragraphos in O (present in L) must be accidental, since 228 must be assigned to Sosias, and there has been an interruption by Pataecus before that.

228 *κακωσγεπολεμεις* O, in the light of which L can now be read from the plate as containing *διοικεις* crossed out and above it *γεεπολεμεις*, i.e. *διοικεῖς* is a gloss on *γε πολεμεῖς* (or *γ' ἐπολέμεις*), rightly rejected by the corrector of L, since the gloss sacrifices the pun on Polemon's name. The present tense is preferable to the imperfect, in view of the following *διαλύεται*, and the tense of the gloss *διοικεῖς*.

229 *ἐξόν* is clearly superior to *δέον*, since Sosias claims that Polemon is failing to use a position of strength. I cannot tell from the plate whether L could also have read *ἐξον*. *δέον* was a divination of D. Müller.

There are double dots after *κατακρατος* in O, apparently a later addition; Koerte reports only a single dot now visible in L. P. W. Harsh, *A. J. Phil.* lxii (1941), p. 103 continues 229 and 230 to Sosias. The double dot must be wrong in C and O in 230 (it is not in L) if *Πάταικος ἐξόλλυεν* is given to Sosias, but these words do not now well suit Polemon. O certainly does not have *ο Παταικος* in 230, and the supposed and essential definite article is a very doubtful reading in L; the opening of the verse is missing in C. Possibly we should allocate:

229 (Sosias) *ἐξόν λαβεῖν κατὰ κράτος*: (Polemon) *οὔτος*: (Sosias) *ἀλλὰ γὰρ*

230 *Πάταικος ἐξόλλυεν· οὐκ ἐσθ' ἡγεμών*:

οὔτος is the beginning of an order from Polemon to Sosias, followed immediately by an expostulation. The reading *με γὰρ* at L 229 is quite uncertain.

231 There is no new information on the assignment of this verse.

236 *ειμεντρ...τ'ην* L, *εντιτοιουτ'ην* C, *ειμεντοιουτ'ην* O. *τοιούτο* is preferable as direct correlative to *οἶον*, metre being mended by inserting ω in the address. *τι τοιούθ'* occurs in *Pk.* 110.

238 No paragraphos below *οιον* in O, L.

240 *τις ἐσθ' οδους*, L, C. But O's *τίς δ'* 'is idiomatic after a previous short phrase (an apostrophe, exclamation, imperative)', Denniston, *Greek Particles*², pp. 174–5. Cf. *Eur. Or.* 1327 *εὐφρημος ἔσθι· τί δὲ νεώτερον λέγεις*;

2831. MENANDER, *Samia*

2.4 × 3.3 cm.

Late 1st/early 2nd cent.

Ends of 6 verses (385–90 Austin = 170–5 Koe.). The letters are upright, rounded, large capitals, fairly quickly written, strictly bilinear. There are marked left-pointing serifs on the feet of ι , ρ , τ and the first verticals of η , ν . The handwriting may perhaps be assigned to the late first or early second century A.D. An appreciation of the textual interest of this scrap has been attempted in *Aegyptus* xlvii (1967), pp. 187–90.

385	· · ·] $\dot{\iota}$ $\dot{\nu}\eta$[	385	<i>Χρυ] $\dot{\iota}$: $\dot{\nu}\eta$</i>
	] $\dot{\tau}\iota$ [		<i>ἀλλ] $\dot{\alpha}$ $\dot{\tau}\iota$;</i>
	] $\kappa\nu\epsilon\iota$:		<i>δ$\dot{\alpha}$] $\kappa\nu\epsilon\iota$:</i>
	] $\rho\omega\pi\epsilon\varsigma$[		<i>ἄνθ] $\rho\omega\pi\acute{\epsilon}$ ς[<i>ου</i></i>
	] $\dot{\iota}$. $\dot{\sigma}\upsilon$[		<i>ἀλλ] $\dot{\iota}$ $\dot{\sigma}\upsilon$</i>
390	] $\dot{\cdot}$ $\dot{\cdot}$ [	390	<i>π] $\dot{\sigma}$ $\dot{\lambda}$ [<i>ει</i></i>

385 Space of 1 letter between $\dot{\iota}$ and $\dot{\nu}\eta$. There is a secondary trace of ink close to and parallel to the vertical of $\dot{\iota}$. It would be hazardous to interpret it as part of an intended dicolon 386 Low ink before $\dot{\tau}$ consistent with tail of α , i.e. *ἀλλ] $\dot{\alpha}$ $\dot{\tau}\iota$* 390 Traces of 2 letters, possibly $\sigma\lambda$, i.e. *π] $\dot{\sigma}$ $\dot{\lambda}$ [*ει**

III. SUB-LITERARY PAPYRI

2832–2833. SORTES ASTRAMPSYCHI

Hitherto the only published papyrus of the oracle book of Astrampsychus was **1477**. That papyrus, unidentified by the editors, was subsequently attributed to Astrampsychus by G. Björck, *Symbol. Osloenses* xix (1939), pp. 86 seqq., and, independently, by T. C. Skeat, *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies* iii (1954), pp. 41 seqq. The present two texts were referred to by E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri*, p. 188 n. 59. Both come from that part of the work which consists of the decades of answers; **1477**, on the other hand, lists some of the questions preceding the decades. For a discussion of this oracle book, see P. Tannery, 'Astrampsychus', *RÉG* xi (1898), pp. 96–106, G. M. Browne, 'The Composition of the Sortes Astrampsychi', *BICS* xvii (1970), pp. 95–100, as well as the literature cited above. The only edition is that of R. Hercher, in *Jahresbericht über das königl. Joachimsthalsche Gymn.* (Berlin, 1863), most of which was reprinted by J. Rendel Harris, *The Annotators of the Codex Bezae*, Cambridge, 1901, App. C, pp. 128 seqq.

2832 and **2833** tend to use shorter answers than one finds in the medieval tradition. They also prefer the present tense to the future of the manuscripts; this use of the present is a feature of vulgar Greek, especially common in New Testament prophecies (see Blass–Debrunner, *Grammatik*¹⁰, para. 323). It is interesting to notice the similar employment of present for future in the *Sortes Sangallenses*, which, though closely related to the *Sortes* of Astrampsychus, reflects an earlier tradition (see Björck, *Sym. Osl.* xix (1939), p. 95 and R. Meister, 'Die Orakelsprüche im St. Galler Palimpsestcodex 908', *Österreich. Akad. d. Wiss., Phil.-hist. kl., Sitzungsber.* 225, Band v (1951), pp. 52 seqq.).

In presenting the text of the papyri, I have added the relevant passages of Hercher's edition. Places where he has needlessly corrected the readings of his two main witnesses, L and M, are discussed in the commentary. I have also normalized Hercher's accents. The numbers in parentheses to the left of the papyrus text refer to the questions. In several places in the commentary I refer to fake answers in the *Sortes*; for a full discussion of this subject, see my article in *BICS* referred to above.

2832. Decades 64. 7–67. 10. Fr. A: 8.6 × 11 cm. Fr. B: 8 × 14 cm. Third century. Two fragments from the same column of a papyrus roll since, though they do not touch, both have the same writing on the back, and fr. A recto has the upper margin, while fr. B recto has the lower margin. Frag. A consists of dec. 64. 7 to 65. 10, and B of 66. 3 to 67. 10. Paragraphoi separate the decades.

The papyrus is written in a good upright book-hand, not far removed from the 'Biblical uncial' style. It somewhat resembles **661** and **2364** and should probably be assigned to the third century.

The verso of the sheet was subsequently used for a private letter, which is written upside down in relation to the Astrampsychus. This letter is very poorly preserved and

does not justify a transcription. To judge from the hand, it was probably composed in the latter half of the third century. The closing formula, ἐρρώσθαι σε εὔχομαι, ἀδελφε (ll. 19-20), is consonant with this date (cf. F. X. J. Exler, *The Ancient Greek Letter*, pp. 70, 75).

I should like to thank Professor E. G. Turner for a transcript of the recto and for preliminary notes.

Fr. A →

	Papyrus	Hercher
	(74) οὐ πωλη[θ]ή[ση.] οὐ συμφέρε[ι]	ζ ὅπου ἂν πραθῆς, μεταμεληθήσῃ
	(73) ὅπου ὑπάγεις οὐ μένεις [	η μενεῖς ὅπου ὑπάγεις καὶ καλῶς
	(72) λαμβάνεις τὸ [ὄψ]ώνιον [	θ συναλλάξεις ἐν τῷ πράγματι τοῦ ὄψωνίου
	(71) οὐ λαμβάνεις [τῆ]ν παρα[καταθήκην]	ι οὐκ ἀπολήψῃ τὴν παρακαταθήκην
	—	δεκάς ξε'
5	ξ[ε] οὐ παραμένει σοι [ἡ π]ρώτη γυνή	α οὐ παραμενεῖς πρεσβύτερος
	(97) παραμένει σοι ἡ γυνή [	β οὐ παραμενεῖ σοι ἡ γυνή ἕως γήρωσ
	οὐκ ἀπαλλάσῃ τῆς φύλης [	γ οὐκ ἀπαλλαγῆσῃ τοῦ κλήρου ἕως θανάτου
	(95) γ[εῖ]νη δεκάπρωτος [	δ γενήσῃ δεκάπρωτος ταχύ
	(94) οὐκ ἔχ[ε]ς τὴν πατρίδα θεωρ[ῆσαι]	ε οὐχ ἔξεις τὴν πατρίδα ἰδεῖν
10	(93) ἀπαρτ[ί]ξεις ὁ ἐπιβάλλη [	ς ἀπαρτίσεις ταχέως ὁ ἐπιβάλλη
	(92) λαμβάνεις λη]γ[ᾶτον]	ζ λήψῃ λεγατόν, ὀλίγον δέ
	(91) πεφ[αρμάκωσαι]	η πεφαρμάκευσαι. σεαυτῷ βοήθει
	(90) οὐκ ἀπ[αλλάσῃ τῆς γυναικός]	θ οὐκ ἀπαλλαγῆσῃ τῆς γυναικός ποτε
	(89) λανθ[άνει σου ὁ δρασμὸς]	ι λήσεται σου ὁ δρασμὸς πρὸς ὀλίγον
	—	
	
	(3 lines missing)	

Fr. B

	Papyrus	Hercher
15	(82) [προγράφεται τ]ὰ [τά]	δ προσγραφῆσεται τὰ τά. ἄλλα κτῆσαι
	(81) [κερδαίνεις ἀπὸ τ]οῦ πράγματος	ε κερδανεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ πράγματος ὀλίγον
	(80) [ζῆ] ὁ ἀπόδη[μο]ς κα[ὶ] ἔρχε[τα]ι	ς ζῆ ὁ ἀπόδημος καὶ ἔρχεται ὑγιαίνων
	(79) οὐ λαμβά[νεις τὸ] ἀργύριον[	ζ λήψῃ τὸ ἀργύριον κατὰ μέρος
	(78) λαμβάνεις [κο]μιᾶτον [	η οὐ λήψῃ ἄρτι κομηᾶτον
20	(77) οὐκ ἀποκαθ[ί]σται εἰς τὸν [τόπον]	θ οὐκ ἀποκατασταθήσῃ εἰς τὸν τόπον σου

	Papyrus	Hercher
	(76) [ἐὰ]ν συναλλάξῃς, βλαβήσ[η]	ι ἐὰν ἐτέρω συναλλάξῃς, βλαβήσῃ δεκάς ξζ ⁷
(86)	[ξξ φυ]γαδεύῃ πρὸς ὀλίγον χρόν[ον]	α φυγαδευθήσῃ πρὸς ὀλίγον
(85)	οὐ γείνη βιόπρατος τελεί[ωσ]	β οὐ γενήσῃ τελείως βιόπρατος
(84)	ἀγοράζεις τὸ ἐνθυμῆ [	γ ἀγοράσεις ὁ ἐνθυμῆ καὶ χαρήσῃ
25 (83)	πωλεῖς, βραδέως δέ [	δ βραδέως εὐρήσεις πωλήσαι, καλῶς δέ
(82)	[οὐ] προγράφεται τὰ [c]ά. μὴ φο[βοῦ]	ε οὐ προγράφεται τὰ cά. μὴ φοβοῦ.
(81)	[κ]ερδαίνεις ἀπὸ τοῦ [π]ράγματ[οσ]	ς κερδανεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ πράγματος πολὺ
(80)	[ζ]ῆ ὁ ἀπόδημος καὶ ἔρχετα[ι]	ζ οὐκ ἐλεύσεται ὁ ἀπόδημος. οὐ γὰρ ζῆ
(79)	λαμβάνεις τὸ ἀργύριον	η λήψῃ τὸ ἀργύριον ἄρτι
30 (78)	οὐ λαμβάνεις κω[μιᾶτον]	θ οὐ λήψῃ κομητᾶτον νῦν
(77)	οὐκ ἀποκαθίτ[αc]α[ι εἰς τὸν τόπον]	ι οὐκ ἀποκατασταθήσῃ εἰς τὸν τόπον σου

(The app. crit. refers only to the papyrus)

4 παρακαταθήκην: if written in full, it probably spilled over into the next column; cf. ll. 20 and 31
8 l. γίνῃ; the space is too large for iota alone 18 and 19 l. λαμβάνεις 20 If σου was written,
the line spilled over into the following column; so also in l. 31. See above, l. 4 22 Only a dot of
ink remains of the paragraphos 23 l. γίνῃ 27 l. κερδαίνεις 29 and 30 l. λαμβάνεις

1 For the reading of the papyrus, cf. dec. 55. 5 οὐ πωληθήσῃ. οὐ συμφέρει σοι. περιμένειν (οὐ πωληθήσῃ Hercher: οὐ πωλήσῃς L, μὴ πωλήσεις M. For πωληθήσῃ cf. 84. 2, 85. 9, 87. 10).

2 For the reading of the pap., cf. 84. 3 οὐ μενεῖς ὅπου ὑπάγεις· οὐ γὰρ φθάνεις.

3 For pap., cf. 22. 1 λήψῃ ὀψώνιον.

5 and 7 The answers in the papyrus do not correspond to the questions in the medieval tradition, and the same discrepancy occurs in 2833, i 2 and 4, and ii 6 (see n. ad loc.). We must assume that in the papyri of Astrampsychus questions 96–8 were as follows:

- 96 εἰ ἀπαλλάσσομαι τῆς φίλης;
97 εἰ παραμένει μοι ἡ γυνή;
98 εἰ παραμένει μοι ἡ πρώτη γυνή;

It is interesting to note that in the case of the fake answers scattered throughout the *Sortes* the medieval tradition employs at times answers similar to those in the papyri. Since these fakes could never be reached, there was no need to bring them into conformity with the questions in the MSS. Thus in the false decade 69 the MSS. read:

- ζ παραμενεῖ σοι ἡ γυνή σου σωφρονοῦσα
(97) η οὐ παραμενεῖ σοι ἡ γυνή· φίλον γὰρ ἔχει
θ ἀπαλλαγῆσῃ τῆς φίλης ζηλοτυπήσας.

Cf. also dec. 20. 7–9.

6 For pap., cf. 28. 8 παραμενεῖ σοι ἡ γυνή, ἐὰν θέλῃς.

9 For pap., cf. question 94 εἰ θεάσομαι κτλ., and 2833 ii 8.

11 λη]γ[ᾶτον: for the spelling, cf. 2833 ii 10. 1477 21 was read by the editors εἰ λαμβάνω [τ]ὸ ἔδ[ιο]ν; I have examined the original (= B.M. 2461) and now read εἰ¹ λαμβάνω [λ]ηγᾶ[το]ν. For the spelling see Daris, *Aegyptus* xl (1960), p. 235.

12 πεφ[αρμάκωσαι: for the spelling, cf. 2833 ii 11 and 1477 20 πεφαρμάκωμαι (the ω is practically certain).

¹ On εἰ, not εἶ (=ῆ) in direct questions see Björck, *Symb. Osl.* xix (1939), p. 94 n. 2.

14 λήσεται Hercher: λανθάνει LM. So also in 12. 3, 29. 5, 54. 9, 57. 4, 65. 10, 77. 8, 81. 2, 89. 7; only in 25. 6 do the MSS. read λήσεται (cf. 2833 ii 37 where λήσεται also occurs). 1477 18 has λύεται.

15 προσγράφεται Hercher: προσγράφεται LM. So also in the other answers (see Hercher's introd., p. x). προσγράφεται occurs below, l. 26, and in 1477 11, and means 'to be sold by auction' (see LSJ s.v. II. 2). προσ- in the MSS. should probably be corrected (so LSJ s.v. προσγράφω II. 2 *sub fin.*; *contra* Hercher, introd., p. x).

18 For the negatived answer, cf. 72. 10 οὐ λήψη τὸ ἀργύριον ὄλωσ.

19 1477 7 also has κομιᾶτον (= *comiteatus*) as opposed to the MSS. reading κομητᾶτον (= *comitatus*). See Björck, *Symb. Osl.* xix (1939), p. 97.

23 1. βιόπραγος: tau, not gamma, i.e. βιόπρατος was written, and in 1477 14 Grenfell and Hunt read the question corresponding to this answer as εἰ γίνομαι βιόπρατος. But βιόπρατος, which they translated as 'beggar', is unattested elsewhere except possibly in P. Ryl. iv 617, 10 where either βιόπρατος or βιαιόπρατος can be read; there the sense of the word, according to the editors of the Rylands pap., is 'subject to compulsory sale of one's property'. Further, T. C. Skeat has examined 1477 and corrected βιόπρατος to βιόπραγος, the reading of the MSS. of Astrampsychus. Βιόπραγος means 'successful' (-πραγος is a variant of -πράγμων; cf. ἀπραγος = ἀπράγμων in Symmachus, *Jd.* 9, 4) and is similar to βιομήχανος 'clever at getting a living' (see LSJ). The meaning of βιόπραγος is clearly seen in Astrampsychus 25. 10 γενήσῃ βιόπραγος καὶ δοξασθήσῃ and 81. 6 γενήσῃ βιόπραγος καὶ κτήσῃ πολλὰ ἀγαθὰ. Βιόπρατος, whether it signifies 'beggar' or 'subject to compulsory sale', is not appropriate to the context.

24 τὸ: for the article used as a relative, see Radermacher, *NT Grammatik*, p. 75; Kapsomenakis, *Voruntersuchungen* (Münch. Beitr. xxviii (1938)), p. 117.

26 See n. to l. 15.

28 Cf. above, l. 17.

2833. Decades 73. 1-79. 10. 14 × 25 cm. Late third or early fourth century. Two columns, of which the first is badly damaged. The second contains 37 lines and may be complete, although the upper margin (3-4 cm.) is hardly more than one finds between lines. Further, the end of col. i, by which we could determine what, if anything, had been lost from the top of the following column, cannot be restored with certainty (see note to i 35-7).

The hand is a medium-sized documentary one, somewhat flattened and rather awkwardly made. It bears some resemblance to 1477 (late third or early fourth century), though the latter is smaller and slightly more graceful. The text is characterized by a large number of itacistic spellings.

(Col. i)

Papyrus

Hercher

δεκάς οἰγ^η

- | | |
|---|---|
| (99) [οὐκ ἀγοράζεις χωρ]ίον
[παραμένει ἢ πρώτη γυν]ή | α οὐκ ἀγοράσεις χωρίον ἢ οἰκίαν
β παραμενεῖς πρεσβύτερος ἕως γήρωσ |
| (97) [οὐ παραμένει σο]ι ἢ γυνή
[ἀπαλλάσσεταί σο]υ ἢ φίλη | γ οὐ παραμενεῖ σοι ἢ γυνή· μοιχεύεται γάρ
δ ἀπαλλαγῆσῃ τοῦ κλήρου μετὰ γήρωσ |
| 5 (95) [γίνῃ δεκάπρωτος] ἐξαπίνης | ε γενήσῃ δεκάπρωτος ἐξαπίνης |
| (94) [ἔχεις τὴν πατρίδ]α θεωρήσαι | ς ἔξεις τὴν πατρίδα ἰδεῖν, βραδέως δέ |
| (93) [ἀπαρτίσεις ὁ ἐπιβά]λλη | ζ ἀπαρτίσεις ὁ ἐπιβάλλη ταχέως |
| (92) [λαμβάνεις ληγα]το]υ ὀλίγον | η λήψῃ λεγατόν, ὀλίγον δέ |

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D

	Papyrus	Hercher
	(91) [].	θ οὐ πεφαρμάκευται. τί ἀκαιρεῖς;
10	(90) []νετη γυνεκός	ι οὐκ ἀπαλλαγῆς τῆς γυναικός. μὴ μερίμνα
	[οδ]	δεκάς οδ ^η
	(53) [οὐ κώζῃ τῆς κυ]κοφαντίας	α οὐ σωθήσῃ τῆς κυκοφαντίας
	(52) [κληρονομεῖς τὴν] γυνῆκα	β κληρονομήσεις τὴν γυναῖκα μόνος
	(51) [εἰπέ τὴν δίκην. ν]ικᾶς	γ εἰπέ τὴν δίκην ἄρτι. νικήσεις γάρ
15	(50) [οὐ παραμένει σοι τὰ ὑ]πάρχοντα	δ οὐ παραμενεῖ σοι τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἕως γήρωσ
	(49) [οὐ λαμβάνεις τὴν] φερνήν	ε οὐ λήψῃ τὴν φερνήν. οὐ γὰρ εὐρήσεις τι
	(48) [οὐ κληρονομεῖς] τοὺς γονίς	ς οὐ κληρονομήσεις τοὺς γονεῖς σου. ἐμικήθῃς γάρ
	(47) [οὐ τεκνοῖς ἄρτ]ι. μὴ προσδόκα	ζ οὐ τεκνώσεις ἄρτι. μὴ προσδόκα
	(46) [καταλλάσῃ τοῖς κ]υρίοις	η καταλλαγῆς τοῖς κυρίοις καὶ ἀγαπηθήσῃ ὑπ' αὐτῶν
20	(45) [δὸς τὰ γράμματα. ἐπ]ιτυγχάνεις	θ δὸς τὰ γράμματα. ἐπιτεύξῃ οὐ χρήσεις
	(44) [ἔχεις χρόνον ζωῆ]ς	ι ἔξεις χρόνον ζωῆς καὶ πάνυ καλόν
	[οε]	δεκάς οε ^η
	(60) [οὐκ οἰκονομεῖ]ς	α οὐκ οἰκονομήσεις
c. 12 lines lost		
36	[]ζίας	
	[]ε	
	[]...	
(Col. ii)		
	(28) δίδ[ως] τοὺς λόγου[ς μ]εθ' ὕβρεως	ζ δώσεις τοὺς λόγους σου μεθ' ὕβρεως
	(27) ο[ὐ]κ ἔρχεσθε ἄρτι ὁ [ἀ]πόδημος	η οὐκ ἐλεύσεται ὁ ἀπόδημος. ἀσχολεῖται γάρ
	(26) ἀποδίδοις ἃ ὀφείλεις ἐκ κόπων	θ ἀποδώσεις ἄρτι ἃ ὀφείλεις ἐκ κόπων σου
	(25) οὐ δύνη δανίσασθαι ἄρτι	ι οὐ δυνήσῃ ἄρτι δανείσασθαι. οὐ γὰρ πιστεύσει κοί τις
5	οζ	δεκάς οζ ^η
	οὐ παραμένει σοι ἡ πρώτη γυνή	α οὐ παραμενεῖ σοι ὁ κλῆρος
	(95) γίνῃ δεκάπρωτος	β γενήσῃ δεκάπρωτος, ὅτε οὐκ οἶδας
	(94) ἔχεις τῆ<ν> πατρίδα θεωρησῆσαι	γ ἔξεις τὴν πατρίδα ἰδεῖν ἐξαπίνης
	(93) ἀπαρτίζεις ὃ ἐπιβάλλῃ	δ ἀπαρτίσεις ὃ ἐπιβάλλῃ καὶ δοξασθήσῃ
10	(92) οὐ λαμβάνεις λεγαῖτον	ε οὐ λήψῃ λεγαῖτον. μὴ ἔλπιζε
	(91) οὐ πεφαρμάκωσαι. μὴ ἀγωνία	ς οὐ πεφαρμάκευσαι. μὴ φοβοῦ
	(90) οὐ καταλλάσῃ τῇ γυνεκί	ζ ἀπαλλαγῆς τῆς γυναικός ἐπ' ὠφελεία

- 9 The last letter may be an eta. Perhaps [οὐ φαρμακωθής]η?
- 10 Of the letter before nu only a speck of ink remains. τῆ is probably for τῆ<ς>; cf. col. ii 8.
- 15 The line as restored is rather long, and perhaps οὐ or σοι was omitted.
- 35–7 No restoration is satisfactory. L. 35 might read [κληρονομεῖς τὴν μητέρα or τὸν πατέρα ἐξ ἡμ]υίας (cf. dec. 21. 7), an answer corresponding to either question 33 or 34. In l. 36 we might venture [τὸ γεννώμενον μὴ τρέφ]ε, an answer to question 30. But, where so little remains, it is risky to assume that the answers are misplaced.

Col. ii

- 3 The scribe has assimilated the present of ἀποδίδωμι to the -ῶ conjugation, see Blass–Debrunner–Funk § 94.
- 6 The answer in the papyrus does not correspond to that observed in 2832 7 and in col. i 4 of the present text. The MSS. display similar discrepancies, even when there is no question of ‘fakes’; e.g. in dec. 81, lines 5 and 6 are reversed in the MSS.
- 12 The question is εἰ ἀπαλλαγῆσομαι τῆς γυναικός, to which οὐ καταλλάσσει τῆ γυναικί provides a readily understandable, though slightly perverse, answer. The phrase is found also in decc. 29. 4 and 89. 6, and a similar version (διαλλαγῆσει τῆ γυναικί) in 57. 3. All three places were ‘corrected’ by Hercher to an answer with ἀπαλλαγῆσει.
- 13 See 2832 14 n.
- 15 For the answer in the pap., cf. dec. 57. 6 πρεσβεύσεις οὐ μόνος· συμφέρει γάρ.
- 20 For the form of the answer, cf. dec. 1. 8 εἰς μισθώση, βλαβήσει πολὺ.
- 21 For the negated answer, cf. dec. 75. 1.
- 22 For the affirmative, cf. dec. 75. 2.
- 33 In the MSS. the question is εἰ ἔστιν ὥρα τοῦ ἐπιβαλέσθαι τῷ χρησμῷ (question 13), to which the answer in the pap. does not correspond. The question in the pap. was probably εἰ ἐργάζομαι; We have already seen (2832, 5 and 7 note) that the MSS. at times preserve the pap. answers among the fakes, even though the questions have been changed. In this connection, cf. the following fake answers in the medieval tradition, all of which are used instead of a proper answer to MS.-question 13: dec. 63. 2 ἐργάζη μετὰ πόνου καὶ κόπου πολλοῦ; 82. 3 ἐργάζη κάμων ἐπὶ καλῷ καὶ χαίρη; cf. also 88. 4 and 91. 5.
- 34 Probably some form of ἐκκοπῆναι.
- 35–7 The last 3 lines of dec. 79 contain fakes; consequently no correspondence is necessary between the pap. and the MSS.

IV. DOCUMENTS FROM THE ARCHIVE OF KOMON

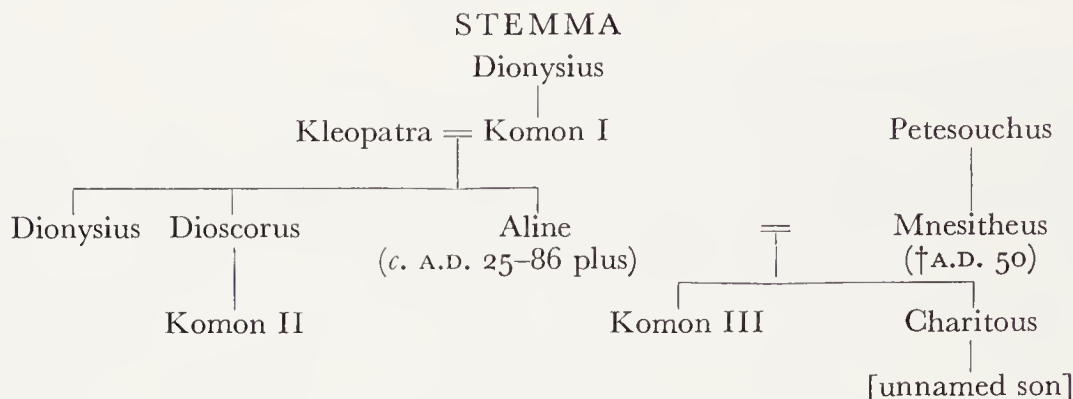
The texts which follow were first recognized as forming a small documentary archive by John Rea. They were studied in a papyrological seminar held in the University of Cambridge in 1967/8, and some of the members of the seminar have undertaken responsibility for their publication here. A short account of the archive and a synthesis of the information found in it were given by E. G. Turner to the Twelfth International Congress of Papyrologists in Ann Arbor in 1968 (*Proceedings*, pp. 485-9).

The dated texts cover the period from Claudius to Domitian. The central figure in the family is Aline, daughter of Komon I, mother of Komon III, aunt of Komon II (the Komons belong either to the generation of Augustus to Tiberius or to that of Nero to Domitian). She is still alive in A.D. 86 (2843); her age is stated but is unfortunately unreadable), a widow since A.D. 50 when her husband Mnesitheus died (2837). Since she was certainly the mother of two children she is likely to have been born not later than about A.D. 25. It is even possible that she, not her son Komon III, was the custodian of these papers. The name *Ἀλίνη* is not of common occurrence. It is worth noting that in our family the Greek names Komon and Kleopatra, Aline's parents, Dionysius and Dioscorus, her brothers, are on the lady's side; her husband Mnesitheus (or Mnesithes) has a Greek name, but his father is the Egyptian Petesouchus.

In the later texts (2843, 2846) Aline and her son are described as *τῶν ἀπ' Ὀξύρυνχων πόλεως*, i.e. they are metropolitans, not villagers. Mnesitheus moreover in his death certificate (2837) is described as registered in the *laura* of the Dromus (of Sarapis).

In 2836 Mnesitheus is described as 'farmer', *γεωργός*: he and a partner are cultivating land 'from the *kleros* of Pyrrhias', that is, cleruchic land, for which they are paying rent. They are *οὐκ ἀπὸ δημόσιου γεωργοί*. This land was in the toparchy of Thmoisepho. The receipts show taxes paid on land in other toparchies: to sitologi of the western (2841), though the village of Kerkeura (also 2840, cf. 2839, 2842) is in the middle toparchy. One would like to know whether any land was owned in the lower toparchy, in a village of which (Sesphtha) Komon III was practor. The large amount of the loan of wheat (125 artabas) repaid by Mnesitheus in 2834 makes one wonder whether this was not a commercial transaction. Moreover 2837, Mnesitheus' registration of death in A.D. 50, is addressed to an official described as *ἐγγλήμπτωρ οὐσίας τοῦ κυρίου Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ αὐτοκράτορος*—i.e. to a private individual who has made a contract to lease and exploit the reigning emperor's *οὐσίαι* at Oxyrhynchus. The fact that this certificate was addressed to such a person (of course other copies might have been sent to the normal recipients; another registration of death, 262, is addressed to the *ἐγγλήμπτωρ γεροδ(ιακοῦ or -ίων)* cf. P. Phil. 6 and 7) implies that Mnesitheus had

a connection with, and possibly obligations towards, this particular estate. That he may also have enjoyed privileges is hinted at in the allusion to his being 'among those who enjoy the tax-exemption of the aforesaid estate' (2837, 9).



48, published in P. Oxy. i, must also have formed part of this archive, see 2843.

2834. RECEIPT FOR REPAYMENT OF LOAN

13·5 × 14·5 cm.

19 July, A.D. 42

Receipt given by a person whose name is lost to Mnesitheus son of Petesouchus for the repayment of a loan of 125 artabas of wheat.

O[.]...[... M]νησιθέου Μνη[ε]θέωι Πετε-
 σούχου χαίρειν· ἀπέχω παρὰ σοῦ ἄς ὀφέ[ι-]
 λες μοι κατὰ χειρ[ό]γραφον πυρ[ο]ῦ ἀρτα-
 βῶν ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι πέντε καὶ τὰ τούτων
 5 διάφορα καὶ [ο]ὐδὲν σοὶ ἐκαλῶ περὶ οὐδενὸς
 ἀπλῶς μέχρι τῆς ἐνεστ[ώ]θη[ε] ἡμ[ε]ρα[ε].
 (ἔτους) β Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Κ[αί]σαρος [C]εβ[α]ρ[ο]ῦ
 Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος Ἐπιφ κ̅ε.

2-3 l. ὀφείλεις or ὠφείλεις

5 l. ἐγκαλῶ

'O. son of Mnesitheus to Mnesitheus son of Petesouchus greetings. I have received from you the hundred and twenty five artabas of wheat which you owe me in accordance with a note of hand, and the interest on them, and I have no complaint at all against you up to the present moment.

'Year two of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, Epeiph 25.'

1 O[.]...[: the 3rd and 4th letters might be ηθ or νε.

4 ἀρταβῶν: the noun is attracted from the accusative object of ἀπέχω into the genitive by the preceding χειρόγραφον, with which it is in any case to be constructed ἀπό κοινοῦ. The figure should be read as πέντε, not ἐννέα as in *Proceedings*.

2835. BUSINESS LETTER

7·7 × 7·0 cm.

Middle of 1st cent.

This business letter (of which a little over half the length of line survives, cf. 1 n.) was found among the papers of the archive, and there is consequently a presumption in favour of the Mnesitheus addressed being identical with the husband of Aline. The writer did not take a large enough sheet to contain what he had to say. After filling the space he wrote two lines at right angles to the main text in the left-hand margin, two additional lines in the top margin, and then wrote at least 5 further lines on the back (writing with, not across, the fibres). These disconnected phrases do not allow a certain view of the transaction discussed, which had to do with olive oil. There is repeated mention of a price, paid or guaranteed, for olive oil. The correspondent may have requested release from a promise (to Mnesitheus?) to act as guarantor.

[At the last moment we have identified what is probably another piece of this letter. It will be published later.]

Διόσκορος Μνησιθέω τ[ῶ
καὶ ὑγιαίνειν· γράφει[ς ὅτι]
κατε . . . ὑήκε τὴν τιμ[ῆν
σοι ἔγραψα περὶ τούτου.] παρα-]
5 καλῶ ἀπαλλάξαι με α[
γά[ρ] ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ πολλα[
ριστίαν. γράφεις δέ μοι [
οὕτως ἔστα<λ>κα πρὸς αὐ[τὸν(?)]
9 τα . ματα καὶ οὐδ[έν(?)]

(at the side) ¹⁰]αίως (or].αβας, not ἀρ]τάβας) καὶ ἔγραψάν μοι ¹¹]. ἀργύριον ἕως ἔλθωσι ἐπι ¹² (in the upper margin) ἀριθμει[(or ἀριθμη[ci.]) κ[α]ἰ οὐ κομμ[ιζι].αι τὸ ἔλ[αιον(?)] ¹³ πρὸ τοῦ εὐ λαβεῖν τὴν τιμὴν ¹⁴ (on the back) traces ¹⁵].νέσχημαι αὐτὸν χάριν πλοῖ[¹⁶]του. καὶ εὐ περὶ ὧν εὐν χρέαν (1. χρεῖαν) ἔ[χης ¹⁷ γ]υγναϊκὸς ἕως ἀν παραγέω[μαι(?)] ¹⁸]ιων τιμη() ἐλαίου ἐπὶ τῶν . . . ¹⁹]'Βφδ εὐν μὴ εὐς ἦ ἡ τιμή. ²⁰ (upside down in relation to writing on verso, therefore address) Μνη[σιθέω

1 If the final trace is rightly taken to be part of τ, not χ (i.e. χ[αίρειν]), the minimum restoration is an adjective or noun to accompany the article τ[ῶ (e.g. φιλτάτω or ἀδελφῶ) and an infinitive such as χαίρειν. 13 letters, therefore, is the minimum loss.

3 The traces could well accommodate κατεγγεγύηκε. This perfect form (written κατεγγεγύηκας) occurs in P. Amh. ii 35, 23 (ii v.c.). Mayser, *Gramm.* i 343 comments on the difficulty this compound gave in conjugation.

6 γά[ρ]: but, e.g., -γα [μ]έν or -γα[γ]εν or other possibilities cannot be excluded.

6-7 e.g. [εὐρον ἀχα]ριστίαν. A word like τ]ριστίαν is less probable; what looks like the cross-bar of ε is a tear in the papyrus.

At end of 7 a restored [ῥτι] would allow Mnesitheus' own words to be quoted in 8.

8-9 A noun such as [ἐπι]τάματα. The letter between α and μ reaches above the line, and does not look like γ or another μ.

2836. RECEIPT FOR RENT IN KIND

12.8 × 26 cm.

10-11 July, A.D. 50

Copy of a certificate wherein Sarapion son of Chaeremon acknowledges to Mnesitheus son of Petesouchus and Gaius Cutius, son of Marcus, receipt of rent for the cleruchic land of his farmed by them. Neither amount of rent nor area of land is stated. This copy was subscribed by Gaius Cutius on the day following.

ἀντίγρα(αφον) ἀποχῆς
 Σαραπίων Χαιρήμονος Μνησιθέωι Πετесоῦχου
 καὶ Γαίω[ι] Κουτίωι Μάρκου υἱῶι γεωργοῖς χαίρειν.
 ἀπέχω{ι} παρ' ὑμῶν τὰ ἐκφόρια ὧν γεγεωρ-
 5 γήκατέ μου ἐδαφῶν περὶ Θῶλθιν τῆς
 Θμοισεφῶ{ι} τοπαρ(χίας) ἐκ τοῦ Πυρρίου κλήρου
 ἐν τῶι ἐνεστῶτι δεκάτωι ἔτει Τιβερίου
 Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ
 Αὐτοκράτορος αἵ εἰσιν πρότερον Ἰέρακος
 10 καὶ Θεῶνος τοῦ Εὐδαίμονος καὶ οὐδὲν
 ὑμεῖν ἐγκαλῶ{ι} περὶ οὐδενὸς ἀπλῶς.
 Σαραπίων Χαιρήμονος ἀπέχω{ι} τὰ ἐκφόρια
 καὶ οὐδὲν ὑμεῖν ἐγκαλῶ{ι} περὶ οὐδενὸς
 ἀπλῶς καθότι πρόκειται. (ἔτους) δεκάτου
 15 Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
 Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος Ἐπεῖφ ἰζ.
 (2nd hand) Γαῖος Κούτιος Μάρκου υἱὸς ἔχω
 τῆς προκειμένης τὴν αὐθεντικὴν
 παρ' ἐμοὶ καὶ ἐπύσω ἐὰν χρέα γένη-
 20 ται. (ἔτους) δεκάτου Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου
 Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ
 Αὐτοκράτορος Ἐπεῖφ ἰζ

1 ἀντίγρα

18 l. προκειμένης

19 l. ἐποίσω, χρέα

'Copy of receipt. Sarapion son of Chaeremon to Mnesitheus son of Petesouchus and Gaius Cutius, son of Marcus, farmers, greetings. I have received from you the rents of the lands of mine near Tholthis in the toparchy of Thmoisepho, forming part of the plot allocated to Pyrrhias, farmed by you in the present tenth year of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, which formerly belonged to Hierax and Theon son of Eudaemon. I have no complaint of any kind against you. I,

Sarapion son of Chaeremon, have received the rent and I have no complaint of any kind against you as aforesaid. 10th year of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, Epeiph 16th.'

(2nd hand) 'I Gaius Cutius son of Marcus have the valid copy of the aforesaid in my possession and will produce it if required. Tenth year of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, Epeiph 17th.'

9 αἴ εἶεν: as if ὧν γεγεωργήκατέ μου ἔδαφῶν ἀρούρας x had preceded.

2837. NOTIFICATION OF DEATH

8.1 × 16.1 cm.

Aug. A.D. 50

Aline, daughter of Komon and Cleopatra, reports the death of her husband Mnesithes (syncopated form of Mnesitheus).

Deaths had to be reported to officials concerned. This might involve a double notification, cf. P. Phil. 6; 7 and P. Petaus 3-8; to the royal scribe and the village scribe. In the present case notification was sent to the ἐκλήμπτωρ (1 n.) of the imperial estate on which Mnesithes worked; a similar notification presumably went to the civil authorities.

On the form of death notifications see O. Montevocchi, *Aegyptus* xxvi (1946), pp. 111-29. Documents published since are listed in the introduction to P. Petaus 3-8, which now join the list, together with P. Mich. 579, 2761 and 2837. SB 7359 has been republished as CPJud. iii. 487. P. Petaus 9, concerning two men condemned to the beasts, is analogous in form.

Ἡρακλείδῃ ἐκλήμπτωρ[ι ο]υσίας
 τοῦ κυρίου Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου
 Καίσαρ[ο]ς Σεβαστοῦ Γ[ερμανικοῦ] ἡ
 Αὐτοκράτο[ρος],
 5 παρὰ Ἀλεξίνης Κώμονος με-
 τὰ κ[υρί]ου τοῦ [ἐ]αυτῆς ἀδελφοῦ
 Διογνίου τοῦ αὐτοῦ Κώμονο'ς.
 [ὁ] ἀνὴρ μου Μνησιθῆς Πετε-
 [κο]ύχου [τῶ]ν ἐν τῇ ἀτελία τῆ'ς
 10 π[ρο]κ[ε]ιμ[έν]ης ο]υσίας ἀναγρα-
 φ[όμε]νος [ἐ]πι[λ]ύρας Δρόμου
 Σ[αράπι]δο[ς] θε[οῦ] μεγ[ά]λου
 ἐτελεύτη[σεν] τῷ Καισαρξίω
 μ[ηνί] τοῦ ἐν[ε]στῶτος δεκά-
 15 του ἔ[τους] Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου
 Καίσαρ[ο]ς Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ
 Αὐτοκράτ[ο]ρος. διὸ ἀξιῶ ἀνα-

γράφεσθαι τοῦτον ἐν [τ]ῇ τῶν
 ὁμοίων τάξει ὡς καθήκει
 20 καὶ ὀμνύω Τιβέριον Κλαύδιο'ν'
 Καίσαρα Σεβαστὸν Γερμανικὸν'
 Ἀυτοκράτορα ἀληθῆ εἶναι
 [τὰ προγεγραμ]μέν[α

5, 7 l. Κόμωνος 9 l. ἀτελεία 17-18 l. ἀναγράφεσθαι

'To Heraclides, entrepreneur of the estate of our lord Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Emperor, from Aline, daughter of Komon, with her brother Dionysius, son of the same Komon, as guardian. My husband Mnesithes, son of Petesouchus, one of those who enjoy the tax-exemption of the aforesaid estate and who is registered in the quarter of the street of Sarapis, the great god, died in the month Kaisareios of the present 10th year of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator. I ask you therefore to register him in the category of persons of the same condition as is fitting and I swear by Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator that the aforesaid is true . . .'

1 *Οὐκία* of the emperor Claudius are recorded in the Arsinoite nome (P. Ryl. ii 148, A.D. 40, Euhemeria; P. Mich. Tebt. 121 recto 1, xii, A.D. 42, Tebtunis; and BGU 650 = W. *Chrest.* 365, A.D. 46-7). But an imperial estate of this date is not otherwise known in Oxyrhynchus. Nor is an *ἐκλήμπτωρ* of or on the estate of a reigning emperor, the nearest parallel being the *ἐγγλήμπτωρ βίβλου* of Livia in A.D. 26 (P. Mil. 6), while Livia was still living. We should perhaps mentally supply a further noun in the genitive case between *ἐκλήμπτωρ* and *οὐκίας*, and regard Heraclides as exploiting a limited field of operations inside the *οὐκία*. Cf. 262, also a death notification, of A.D. 61 addressed to an *ἐγγλήμπτωρ γερδ(ίων)* (or *γερδιακοῦ*), also at Oxyrhynchus. Cf. P. Mertens, *Les Services de l'état civil*, p. 70 n. 89.

8 *Μνησιθῆς* is a syncopated form for *Μνησίθεος*.

9 [τῶ]ν: a possible alternative is [ῶ]ν.

ἀτέλεια for *coloni Caesaris* is not definitely attested before the Severan period, Digest 50. 6. 6. 11. (SB 4226, 2nd century A.D., may record an exceptional grant; so Rostowzew, *Kolonat* 128 n. 1.) M. Aurelius and L. Verus imposed liability for *munera* on *coloni praediorum fisci*, Digest 50. 1. 38. 1; this may have cancelled previous immunity from *munera municipalia*.

The problem of *τελωνικὴ ἀτέλεια* (P. Kalén I R. ii 1 (A.D. 164-5); BGU i 199 verso 1, cf. Nachtr. 396 (after A.D. 195)) recorded on imperial *ousiai* in P. Fay. 82, 14-16 (cf. Thunell, P. Sitologen p. 75) and P. Fay. 40, 3 cf. 8, both before the Antonine rescript, is not helped by this present text. The exemption presumably referred to other than *munera municipalia*.

10 π[ρ]ο[κ]εμ[μένης]: the traces are very scanty but they suit this word, which gives the expected sense. Equivalent expressions such as *προγεγραμμένης, αὐτῆς, τοῦ αὐτοῦ* cannot be read.

11 For the *δρόμος Σαράπιδος* see 481 6-7 (A.D. 99).

18 The use of *ἀναγράφειν* in this context is, on present evidence, confined to the Oxyrhynchite nome, though its use is not invariable there, cf. 79 (A.D. 181-92) and 1551 (A.D. 301) *ταγήναι*.

23 Cf. 2564 (A.D. 154) *τὰ προγεγραμμένα*; 1198 (A.D. 150) *τὰ γεγραμμένα*, followed by the date.

2838. PRIVATE (?) LETTER

12 × 19.7 cm.

4 Feb., A.D. 62

Concluding lines of a letter which was presumably addressed to Aline, in view of the greetings (9-10) to 'your son Komon'. The handwriting is a large, flowing, personal one. τ begins with a large upstroke which might easily be taken as *sigma*.

Parts of 2 lines

3 [...]ος...τηνδ[]
 σου Σαραποῦν οὐσαν
 5 ἐν δραζμῶι ἐπὶ τῆς
 πόλεως εἶναι. λοιπὸν
 οὖν ἀναγκαῖον ἡγη-
 ςαμ. [] ἔπεμψά
 σοι. ἐπισκοποῦ Κόμονα
 10 τὸν υἱὸν σου καὶ Χαριτοῦν
 καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς· τὰ δ' ἄλλα
 ἔρρωσο.
 (ἔτους) ἡ Νέρωνος Κλαυδίου
 Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ
 15 Αὐτοκράτορος Μεχεῖρ ἰ Σεβ(αστηῆ)

5 l. δρασμῶι

8 About 4 letters have been washed out, e.g. ηγησαμε[ρος/νη]

9 l. Κόμονα

'... that your slave (?) Sarapous, a runaway, is in the city. So now consider . . . essential I sent word to you. Take care of Komon your son and Charitous and her son. Goodbye. Year 8 of Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator Mecheir 10th, *dies Augustus*.'

3 If δ[is part of δ[ούλην, the word must have been abbreviated.

5 ἐν δραζμῶι: cf., e.g., P. Berliner Leihgabe 15, 21.

9 ἐπισκοποῦ: cf., e.g., 743 43.

15 This ἡμέρα Σεβαστή seems not to be recorded by W. F. Snyder, *Aegyptus* xviii, pp. 197 seqq.; *ibid.* xliv, pp. 145 seqq.

2839. SITOLOGUS RECEIPT (?)

11 × 6.5 cm.

2 Sept., A.D. 64

Fragmentary receipt, analogous to receipts issued by sitologi, and written across the fibres, for a payment for Kerkeura by Aline daughter of Komon. Only the first halves of the lines survive.

Ἔτους ια Νέρωνος Κλαυδίου Καίσαρ[ος
 μη(νός) Σεβαστοῦ ε. διαγέ(γραφεν) Διογένε(ι) καὶ μ(ετόχου) [
 Κερκεῦρα Ἀλίνη Κόμωνο(ς) σὺν ταῖς [

2 μ^η, διαγ^ε, και^μ3 κομων^ο

1 The dating is likely to have continued Καίσαρ[ος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος.

3 σὺν ταῖς [: a plural ordinal adjective is expected, stating the fraction of the total at which προσμετρούμενα were assessed. It could be δεκάταις καὶ εἰκοσταῖς if the rate were the 15 per cent of 1445 (3rd century). But other rates are known, cf. Wallace, *Taxation*, p. 39. In other parts of Egypt 1% is found, *W. Chr.* 367, 26 [σὺν ταῖς] ἐθίμοις ἑκατοσταῖς, P. Lips. p. 221 (introd. 84) πυροῦ σὺν ρ.

2840. SITOLOGUS RECEIPT

13.6 × 6.8 cm.

3 Aug., A.D. 75

Receipt delivered by the sitologi of Σκῶ τόποι (cf. 619, 620) to Aline daughter of Komon for dues from Kerkeura. Sko was in the ἄνω τοπαρχία (1659 20), whereas Kerkeura was in the μέση τοπαρχία (1285 116; 1659 69). Kerkeura is further mentioned in 2842.

ἔτους ἐβδόμου Αὐτοκρά[το]ρος
 Καίσαρος Οὐεσπασιανοῦ
 Σεβαστοῦ μηνὸς Καισαρείου ι.
 ὁμολ(ογοῦσι) Παποντ(ῶς) καὶ μ[ε]τοχ(οι) σιτολ(όγοι)
 5 Κκῶ{ι} τόπ(ων) μεμετρῆ(σθαι) παρὰ Ἀλίν-
 η<ς> Κόμωνος Κερκεῦρα τέτα-
 ρτον ὄγδοον (γίνεται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβης) (τέταρτον) (ὄγδοον) (2nd hand) Παπον-
 τῶς σεσημείωμαι (πυροῦ ἀρτάβης) (τέταρτον) (ὄγδοον)

1 δ in ἐβδόμου altered or blotted 4 ὁμο^λ παπον^τ, μ[ε]τοχ^{οι} σιτο^λ 5 το μεμετρ^η 7 / † d η'
 8 l. σεσημείωμαι, † d η'

'In the seventh year of Emperor Caesar Vespasianus Augustus, on the tenth of the month of Kaisareios. Papontos and his colleagues the sitologi of the district of Sko agree that there has been measured to them from Aline daughter of Komon for Kerkeura a fourth and an eighth [artaba of wheat], total: artaba of wheat $\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{1}{8}$. I, Papontos, have countersigned the $\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{1}{8}$ artaba of wheat.'

5 The line division is irregular.

6 The village name was read by H. C. Youtie.

2841. SITOLOGUS RECEIPT

8.5 × 10 cm.

21 July, A.D. 85

Receipt for 9 artabas of three-months wheat (8 n.) paid on account of Aline daughter of Komon. Cf. 2840.

ἔτους τετάρτου Αὐτοκράτορος
 Καίσαρος Δομιτιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ
 Γερμανικοῦ Ἐφείπ κζ. μεμέ(τρηται)
 εἰς τὸ δη(μόσιον) γενήμ(ατος) το(ῦ) α (ἔτους) διὰ Ἡρᾶτος
 5 καὶ μετόχ(ων) σιτολόγ(ων) Λιβὸς τοπ(αρχίας) Σενοκώμε-
 ως παρὰ Ἀλίνη<ς> Κόμωνος διὰ Κο-
 μοάπι<ο>ς γεωργοῦ Σύρων κώμης
 (πυροῦ) (τριμήνου) σύνπ(αντα) δη(μοσίω) μέ(τρω) ξ(υστῶ) κανκ(έλλω) ἀρτάβας
 ἐννέα (γίνονται) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) θ (2nd hand) Ἀτρῆς ὁ καὶ Δίδυμ-
 10 ος Ὠρου σεση(μείωμαι) τὰς τοῦ πυροῦ

ἀρτάβας ἐ[νν]έα (γίνονται) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) θ.

(3rd hand) Ἦρος ἐπισφρα(γιστήρ)ς σεση(μείωμαι) τὰς τοῦ

(πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβας) ἐννέα (γίνονται) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) θ

3 l. Ἐπεὶφ μεμε^ε 4 δ^η γενημ^μ 5 μετο^χσιτολο^γ το^ο 8+γ⁻ συν^λ δ^η μ^ε ξ^υ καν^κ
11, 13 /+ο θ

'Fourth year of Emperor Caesar Domitianus Augustus Germanicus, Epeiph 27. There has been measured into the public treasury from the crop of the first year through Heras and his partners, sitologi of the western toparchy, village of Senokomis, by Aline daughter of Komon, acting through Komopais, farmer, village of Syron Kome, of three-months wheat in all, measured by public levelled cancellus measure, nine artabae of wheat, total 9 art.'

(2nd hand) 'I Hatres who am also called Didymus, son of Horus, have countersigned the nine artabae of wheat, total 9 art.'

(3rd hand) 'I Horus, sealing inspector, have countersigned the nine artabae of wheat, total 9 art.'

8 The elucidation of the abbreviation is due to Professor H. C. Youtie, who suggested that the abbreviation γ⁻ and further 3 letters immediately following the sign for (πυροῦ) should be taken as γ^μ and expanded (πυροῦ) (τριμήνου) κύνη(αντα) = 'three-months wheat'—i.e. wheat sown in spring (cf. LSJ s.v.; M. Schnebel, *Die Landwirtschaft im hell. Ägypten*, pp. 145–6). A similar sitologus receipt from Oxyrhynchus, 384, is stated by Grenfell and Hunt (P. Oxy. ii p. 280, n. on 287 7) to read πυροῦ τριώ() κύνη(αντα). Professor Youtie's 'strong suspicion' that τριώ should be read τρι^μ was fully confirmed on examination of the original, now B.M. pap. 812. A probable third example put forward by him, 287, could have had (πυροῦ) γ⁻ κύνηπαντα (γ⁻ for (τριμήνου)); the part concerned is damaged and left as a lacuna by Grenfell and Hunt. This text is not at present available for inspection.

For the measure used cf. P. Lond. ii 256a (p. 99), 12 (A.D. 15), and 1447 4 n. (A.D. 44).

2842. SITOLOGUS RECEIPT

5.8 × 14.7 cm.

A.D. 29?

This fragmentary receipt is included for the sake of completeness, but almost everything in it raises problems. The reason for thinking it may belong to the archive is the patronymic 5–6 [Πετε]ς[ο]ύχου, i.e. father of Mnesitheus. The name is, however, a common one. The village Psychis in which the sitologi serve is that of a well-known locality in the Heracleopolite nome, and is not attested for Oxyrhynchus; and yet the village on behalf of which payments are being made, if l. 7 is rightly restored, seems to be Oxyrhynchite. Lastly the date is uncertain.

Ἔτους πεντεκαίδ[εκάτου

Καίσαρος ..[

Αὐτοκράτο[ρος

Μεσορή

ἐπαγομέ(νων) β [μέμε(τρηται) x καὶ μετό(χοις)

5 σιτολ(όγοις) Ψύχ(εως) .[Πετε-]

ς[ο]ύχου απ[

[.]ερ. ευρ.[

ἀρτάβα(ς) ...[

4 επαγομ^ε

5 σιτο^λ ψυ^χ; beginning of M?

8 αρταβ^λ

1 πεντεκαίδ[εκάτου. If this text belongs to the archive the year will be 15 Tiberius = A.D. 28/9. Even if it does not, the handwriting will not easily allow it to be placed as early as 15 Augustus or as late as 15 Domitian. 15 Claudius is impossible: the emperor died near the beginning of the regnal year (Oct. 54), whereas our text belongs at its very end (Aug. 25, l. 4).

2 . . . : Τι[βερίου is possible, but even so the titles cannot be precisely restored, see the variations in Bureth, *Les Titulatures*, pp. 25-8.

4 ἐπαγομέ(νων) β[= 25 August, A.D. 29.

7 [Κ]ερκεύρω[ν or [Κ]ερκεύρα could be read. If so, this would presumably be the Oxyrhynchite village.

2843. DRAFT MANUMISSION

13.5 × 15.5 cm.

24-28 Aug., A.D. 86

An uncompleted draft of a deed of manumission under Graeco-Egyptian law, to be executed before the agoranomoi in the manner customary at Oxyrhynchus. The subject is the female slave Euphrosyne, the manumittor her mistress Aline, daughter of Komon and widow of Mnesitheus, all of Oxyrhynchus. For other examples of the type of document see 722, 723 (another, of Commodan date, also from Oxyrhynchus, is cited by Grenfell and Hunt, ap. 722, but has not been traced), P. Mil. Vogl. iv 235, and cf. also analogous documents relating to manumissions under Roman law, 1205, BGU 96 and P. Edmondstone (text ap. 722); for the manumission of Euphrosyne see also 48, recording, without doubt, a later stage in the same transaction, despite the different spelling of Aline's name there and the different guardian with whom she was acting.

Written along the fibres, in a small contract-hand which becomes increasingly careless; gaps have been left for the later insertion of the precise date (2, 3), of further details in the descriptions of Aline and Euphrosyne (8, 13), and of the name and description of the certifier (26). The gaps in 8 and 13 suggest that Aline and Euphrosyne were absent when the draft was written, while Aline's son Komon, who was at this time acting as her guardian, and Theon, by whom Euphrosyne's ransom money was to be handed over, were both present, since they are fully described.

The motive for the manumission is not stated, but since ransom money was to be paid for Euphrosyne it is more probable that the initiative came from her than from Aline.

For the procedure followed see Taubenschlag, *Law*², pp. 97 seq. Execution of a deed of this type seems to have been preceded by a letter sent to the agoranomoi from the office of the contractors for the enkyklion, authorizing them to grant freedom to the slave concerned in consideration of the payment of moneys specified; for this stage in the proceedings see 48, 49, 349 and for a receipt for the payments, which presumably preceded the dispatch of the letter, 50. There has been some disagreement about the identity of the writers of the letters to the agoranomoi, who were thought by Grenfell and Hunt, ap. 48, to be bankers; but P. Strassb. 122, P. Freib. ii. 10, and probably P. Tebt. 811 show that the contractors for the enkyklion did play a part in manumissions and Taubenschlag's view that it was they who wrote to the agoranomoi seems the better solution. After the agoranomoi had acted on the authorization sent to

them, there might be a further ceremony of proclamation by herald, see P. Strassb. 122, P. Freib. ii. 10.

It appears that arrangements for Euphrosyne's manumission were agreed and the formalities ready for completion in late August, but for reasons not clear (possibly connected with Aline's son) they were postponed until 16 October (48 20) when Aline's nephew acted as her guardian in the place of her son. Aline would need a guardian for a transaction involving the office of the agoranomoi (so Taubenschlag, l.c., p. 173), and since she was a widow, her natural guardians would be her son, father, grandfather, or brother; her son was presumably ill or unavoidably 'out of town' on 16 October, her brother is known to have been dead (48 11-13) and it may be supposed that so also were her father and grandfather, leaving her nephew as the obvious substitute.

As conditions of manumission two payments of money are specified both here and in 48, (a) of ten drachmae of coined silver and (b) of the ransom. Two distinct payments, in each case one of ten drachmae of coined silver and the other of the ransom, are also specified in 49, 50, and in the missing document referred to ap. 722, while in 722 itself there are again two payments, although the first is of ? drachmae, 4 obols; in 349 the relevant part of the document is lost. Grenfell and Hunt must be right to regard the repeated payments of ten drachmae as a tax—surely the manumission tax itself rather than an unknown and additional one as they suggest; and the aberrant figure in 722 they explain satisfactorily on the ground that there only one-third of the slave is being manumitted. The proposed reading $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ in l. 25 would confirm that a tax is involved here.

The ransom, as is clear by comparison with 48, is given in alternative notations, silver and copper. Commentators on the parallel 722, 723, have assumed that the ransom was the sum of the amount reckoned in silver and the amount reckoned in copper; but since in 48 Euphrosyne's ransom can be described in terms of the figure given here in copper only, with no allowance for that in imperial silver drachmae, they must be wrong. For sums of money described in alternative notations, see the almost contemporary sales contracts 242 and 243, where, however, the formula used makes the position absolutely clear. On the ratio of silver to copper implied, see Mr. Crawford's note below.

If $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ is right in l. 25, Theon handed over tax and ransom, but both presumably came from Euphrosyne's purse. Theon's part has been variously explained. A similar figure appears in 722 and Calderini, *La Manomissione . . . in Grecia* (Milan, 1908), p. 163 thought of him as a banker because he took him to be identical with the man who would write the letter of authorization to the agoranomoi to grant freedom (but we now know, by comparison of this text with 48, that this was not the case) and followed Grenfell and Hunt in his identification of that writer (see above). Grenfell and Hunt themselves suggested that he might be the prospective husband of the woman being manumitted, which seems an unlikely solution, and, indeed, an impossible one now that we have

more than one instance. Since a free woman needed a guardian for business involving the office of the agoranomoi, a slave woman can hardly have acted for herself in such a case either, but will presumably have needed someone to hand over on her behalf the money she provided from her *peculium*, performing the part played by Apollo in the Delphic manumissions. Cf. SGDI ii 1684 seq. If Theon acted in this way for Euphrosyne, drawing on her *peculium*, it is immediately obvious why there are elaborate provisions to safeguard her against any subsequent claim from him for the tax and the ransom money. In 722 as published, the manumitted slave is apparently protected against any attempt to claim the ransom money from her by her former owner (27 seqq.); but this interpretation depends on the doubtful reading of two letters, so that it seems possible that there too it was from the man who handed over the money for her that she was protected.

5 ἔτ[ο]υς πέμπτου Ἀυτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Δομιτιανοῦ
 [C]εβασ[τ]οῦ Γερμανικοῦ Ὑπερβ[ερ]εταίου ἐπαγο(μένων) *vac.*
 μηνὸς Καίσαρε[ί]ου ἐπαγο(μένων) *vac.* ἐν [᾽]Ο]ξυρύγχων πόλει τῆς
 Θηβαίδος ἐπ' ἀγορανό[μω]ν Θέωνος καὶ Δίου καὶ Διονυσίου
 ἀφείνκεν ἐλευ[θ]έραν ὑπὸ Δία Γῆν Ἡλιον Ἀλίνη Κόμωνος
 τοῦ Διονυσίου μητρὸς Κλεωπάτρας τῆς Διονυσίου τῶν
 ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως ὡς (ἐτῶν) [.]. μέση μελίχρως μακρο-
 πρόσωπος οὐλή *vac.* μ[ε]τὰ κυρίου τοῦ ἑαυτῆς
 υἱοῦ Κόμωνος τ[οῦ] Μνησιθέου [το]ῦ Π[ε]τρούχου τῶν ἀ[πὸ]
 10 τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως ὡς [(ἐτῶν) .]. μέσου μελίχρω μακρο-
 προσώπου οὐλή ὠφρῦι ἀρ[ι]στ[ε]ρ[ε]ῖα ἐν ἀγνιᾷ τὴν ὑπάρ-
 χουσαν αὐτῇ δούλην Εὐφρο[σ]ύνην ὡς (ἐτῶν) λε' μέση ν' με-
 λίχρω μακροπρόσωπον [ο]ὐλή *vac.*
 οἰκογενῆ ἐγ δούλης Δη[μ]ητ[ρο]ῦτος ἀργυρίου ἐπισ[τή]-
 15 μου δραχμῶν δέκα καὶ ὦν τ[ε]τακτε ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τῆ
 προγεγραμμένη αὐτῆς δεσπόδιτι Ἀλίνη{ν} Θέων Διο-
 νυσίου τοῦ Λέοντος μητρὸς Ἰσιώνης τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς
 πόλεως ὡς (ἐτῶν) μγ' μέσος μελίχρως μακροπρόσωπος
 οὐλή γαστροκνημιά δεξιᾷ λύτρων ἀργυρίου σεβα[σ]-
 20 τοῦ νομίματος δραχμῶν ὀκτακοσίων ἐκ χαλ-
 κοῦ ταλάντ[ο]ν δέκα τ[ε]τριχί[λ]ιαις οὐκ αἰξόντος τῶ
 Θέωνι οὐδ' ἄλλω οὐδενεὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἀπαίτ[η]-
 ριν ποιείσθαι παρὰ τῆς ἐλευθερο[υ]μένης Εὐ-
 φρο[σ]ύνης οὐδὲ τῶν παρ' αὐτῆς τῶ[ν] λύτρων
 25 οὐδὲ εἰδῶς(?) τρόπῳ οὐδενεὶ(?). γνωστῆρ τ[ῆ]ς ἐλευ-
 θερήσεως *vac.*

5 l. ἀφέικεν 6 l. Κλεοπάτρας 9 l. Πετεςούχου 10 In the last word κ is written over an illegible letter
 11 l. ὄφρῦ 13 In the second word ν is written over c 14 l. ἐκ
 15 l. τέτακται 16 l. δεσπότηδι 21 l. ταλάντων δέκα τριςχιλίων οὐκ ἐξόντος? The second word was probably written ταλάντου but may have been ταλάντοις 22 l. οὐδενὶ περὶ 25 l. οὐδενὶ
 25-6 l. ἐλευ] | θερώσεως

There is a small detached fragment, probably from the ends of 24-5

'Fifth year of Imperator Caesar Domitianus Augustus Germanicus, month of Hyperberetaeus, intercalary day *vac.* month Kaisareios, intercalary day *vac.* City of the Oxyrhynchi in the Thebaid, the agoranomoi being Theon, Dius, and Dionysius. Aline the daughter of Komon, son of Dionysius and of Cleopatra daughter of Dionysius, of the city of the Oxyrhynchi, age about . . . years, height medium, complexion honey-coloured, face long, scar *vac.*, accompanied by her guardian who is her own son Komon the son of Mnesitheus son of Petesouchus, of the aforesaid city, age about . . . years, height medium, complexion honey-coloured, face long, scar on the left eyebrow, acting in the public street, has set free, under sanction of Zeus, Earth and Sun, the female slave Euphrosyne who is her property, age about 35 years, height medium, complexion honey-coloured, face long, scar *vac.*, home-bred from the female slave Demetrous, on payment of ten drachmae of coined silver and the ransom money which Theon the son of Dionysius, son of Leon and of Isione, of the aforesaid city, age about 43 years, height medium, complexion honey-coloured, face long, scar on the right calf, has agreed to hand over for her to the aforesaid owner Aline, i.e. 800 drachmae of imperial silver coin, in bronze ten talents, 3,000 drachmae; neither Theon nor anyone else connected with him has a right to claim the ransom money [or the tax in any way] from Euphrosyne who is being manumitted, or from those acting on her side, nor . . . ? . . . ? in any way. The certifier of the manumission is *vac.*'

5 ὑπὸ Δία Γῆν Ἥλιον: for this formula, which occurs commonly in papyri concerned with manumission, see Calderini, *La Manomissione . . . in Grecia* (Milan, 1908), pp. 104 seq., Taubenschlag, *Law*², p. 97, and the discussion arising from a variant formula in P. Oslo. iii 193. Its first known appearance in a manumission is at Thermus in Aetolia in the second century B.C.; it was presumably intended to place the new freedom of the subject under the protection of deities whose spheres of operation were, taken together, all-embracing; by the first century A.D. it seems to have become a tralatician element of small meaning; it has nothing to do with *hierodouleia*, as tentatively suggested by Grenfell and Hunt ap. 48.

9 Petesouchus is the one Egyptian name so far recorded in this family.

14 seq. The 'coined silver' in which the ten-drachmae manumission tax (see above) is reckoned (contrast the term imperial silver coin for the ransom money) is usually supposed to be Ptolemaic silver (L. C. West and A. C. Johnson, *Roman and Byzantine Currency in Egypt* (Princeton, 1944), p. 6); if it is right to deduce from P. Tebt. 811 that the tax and its collection through the contractors for the enkyklion derive from the Ptolemaic period, that is likely enough.

19 seq. From comparison of these phrases with those of 48 15-16, it is argued above that the ransom is stated in alternative notations, silver and copper; this is also suggested by the wording in 49 17 and 50 4 where the money is described in terms of χαλκοῦ πρὸς ἀργύριον, and by comparison between Euphrosyne's ransom and the known prices of slaves in Egypt (A. C. Johnson, *Roman Egypt*, pp. 279 seq.), for although it is normal for ransoms to run higher than the market prices of slaves (W. L. Westermann, *The Slave Systems of Greek and Roman Antiquity* (Philadelphia, 1955), p. 36) her price would seem distinctly exorbitant if it were the sum of the silver and the copper figures.

20 For ἐκ χαλκοῦ cf. the document published in *Aegyptus* xiii (1933), pp. 229 seq., l. 14—ἐκ πλήρους χαλκοῦ perhaps for ἐκ πλήρους ἐκ χαλκοῦ; and for ἐκ followed by a genitive defining the material cf. E. Mayser, *Grammatik d. Gr. Papyri* ii 2, p. 347; but it may be that the writer here intended ἐν χαλκοῦ ταλάντοις.

25 After οὐδέ the pen has spluttered over three letters, and Professor Turner has suggested that εἶδος (in its common sense of 'tax') is to be recognized under the blot, followed by τρόπῳ οὐδενεὶ suggested by Mr. Parsons. This gives a phrase designed to bar Theon from claiming the ransom or tax-money from Euphrosyne. Both τῶν λύτρων and εἶδος (the absence of the article is surprising) would depend on ἀπαίτησιν ποιεῖσθαι ll. 22-3, and the sentence is not lucidly drafted.

The certifier, who was still to be chosen when this draft was written, was the earthly guarantor of the

freedom already placed under divine sanction; cf. the *βεβαιωτήρες* who appear in the Delphic manumissions (SGDI ii 1684 seq.).

Note by Mr. Michael Crawford

The monetary system of Ptolemaic Egypt derived from that of Alexander and involved initially a perfectly normal relationship between the precious-metal and base-metal coinages. The occurrence from the second century B.C. onwards of copper:silver ratios of several hundred:one seems to be the result of a change in the monetary system by which copper drachmae became copper coins conventionally described as drachmae, but *weighing* only a fraction of a drachma.

The monetary system of Roman Egypt was in its main outlines fairly straightforward. It consisted of a silver tetradrachm and bronze fractional pieces. One silver drachma was officially the equivalent of one bronze drachma, although in practice there was a slight premium on silver. The occurrence in Roman Egypt of bronze:silver ratios of several hundred:one seems to be a survival due to the conservatism of some scribes.

In the main-stream Imperial coinage 16 asses were officially worth 1 denarius. In the bronze coinage metal value and face value probably approximated (*JRS* (1969), p. 292) and the same was certainly true of the silver coinage. Thus under Augustus 3.79 gr. of silver was the equivalent of 10.48×16 gr. of bronze, a metal ratio of bronze:silver of about 44.3:1 (H. Mattingly, *BMCRE* i, lii; H. Willers, *Kupferprägung*, p. 169).

There is no certainty about the metal ratio underlying the coinage of Roman Egypt, since the identity of the bronze fractional pieces is unknown. If 'Size 1' was a drachma (L. C. West and A. C. Johnson, *Currency*, pp. 176-7), a metal ratio obtained in the coinage of Roman Egypt of the same order as in the main-stream Imperial coinage, namely 56:1.

A number of papyri may at first sight be held to give some support to this hypothesis. Our document, a manumission, records a ransom of ἀργυρίου σεβαστοῦ νομίματος δραχμῶν ὀκτακοσίων ἐκ χαλκοῦ ταλάντ[ου]ε(?) δέκα τριχιλίας δραχμαῖς. **48**, which contains the instructions for the manumission to take effect, mentions only the second sum. The two sums are therefore presumably equivalents. **49** and **50** together refer to a second manumission, mentioning only a sum of 2 T. 600 Dr. in bronze (not 2 T. 6,000 Dr.). **336** mentions a sum in silver (missing) and a sum of 10 T. 3,000 Dr. in bronze for a slave. **722** mentions a sum in bronze (missing) for the $\frac{2}{3}$ of a slave already freed (or conceivably for the whole) and a sum of 200 Dr. in silver and a sum in bronze (missing) for the remaining $\frac{1}{3}$. The last two sums are presumably equivalents. The Commodan manumission cited in **722** seems to mention only a sum of 500 Dr. in silver. The deed of sale of a slave (said to be from Achmîm, but in view of the personal names likely to be from Oxyrhynchus) in *Aegyptus* xiii (1933), p. 229 = SB 7533 mentions a sum of 1,300 Dr. in silver and a sum of 10 T. 3,000 Dr. in bronze. These sums are presumably equivalents. Our document gives a ratio of 78.75:1 for bronze:silver, the deed of sale SB 7533 a ratio of 48.5:1. **48**, the pair of our document, in which the sum of 10 T. 3,000 Dr. appears by itself, excludes the possibility of a mistake in our document,¹ such as is postulated by West and Johnson (*Currency*, p. 15) to explain the ratio in the deed of sale SB 7533. Given the erratic weights of ancient coins, the two ratios may perhaps be taken to be of the same order as the metal ratio underlying the main-stream Imperial coinage.

But it is not clear why this should be so. If the same metal ratio obtained in the coinage of Roman Egypt as in the main-stream Imperial coinage, this could only be known to someone who had access to analyses of the (debased) tetradrachms or to the recipe for making them. We are left with two possibilities, of which the first seems to me unlikely. Either it was generally known how much silver a tetradrachm contained and the payments recorded in **48**, **49**, **50** and the first half of **722** were made in bronze by weight; or they are conventional survivals from an unknown period, possibly the period of transition to Roman rule, and figures in bronze are the notional equivalents of figures in silver known to the parties concerned in the transactions. It seems relevant that the two ratios in question occur in a manumission and a deed of sale of a slave (where the ratio of several hundred:one of bronze:silver does not occur, contra West and Johnson, l.c.) and that in similar documents the total of 10 T. 3,000 Dr. appears at least three times and a fifth of this total at least twice. An analogy to a conventional price in bronze for a slave may be found in the *pretium servi ex forma censoria* of the Digest.

¹ There is also additional evidence for the first century in **2856**.

Note. The 10 Dr. tax, of which τ[ε]τ[ρ]ωβόλου in 722 19–20 is presumably intended (wrongly) for a third, is ignored throughout.

2844. PRIVATE LETTER

11.3 × 32.5 cm.

2nd half of 1st cent.

A letter to Komon from Kephalion on a business matter, asking for help for a woman called Nemesous. We know that the younger Komon had a sister (2838 10), and the younger Komon may therefore be the recipient of this letter. But not much reliance is to be placed on an argument *e silentio*.

Κεφαλίων Κωμώνει
 τῶι τιμιωτάτῳ
 πλεῖστα χαίρειν.
 Νεμεσοῦν οὐκ ἀγνοεῖς
 5 περὶ ἧς ἄλ[λ]οτε ἐὲν ἡρώ-
 τησα βοηθῆσαι αὐτῇ.
 καλῶς οὖν [π]οιήσεις ἐπὶ
 ἀνῆλθεν εἰς τὴν μητρό-
 πολειν <ποιεῖν> τάχειον αὐ-
 10 τὴν κατελθεῖν διὰ
 τὸ ἐργαστήριον αὐ-
 τῆς. μὴ οὖν ἄλλως
 ποιήσῃ[ς]. ἔρρωσο σὺν τῇ
 ἀδελφῆ[ῃ] σοῦ καὶ τοῖς σοῖς πα-
 15 ςι μηνὸς Καίσαριου εἴ
 (Addressed on verso) Κώμω[ν]ει π(αρά) Κεφαλί[ωνος]

1 l. Κώμωνι 6 βοηθῆσαι read by J. Rea 7 l. ποιήσεις, ἐπεὶ 8–9 l. μητρόπολιν
 9 l. τάχειον 10 l. διὰ 15 l. Καίσαρείου

‘Kephalion to his most honoured Komon, very many greetings. You are not unacquainted with Nemesous, in regard to whom I have asked for your help on other occasions. Please then, since she has gone up to the metropolis, get her to come down quickly (to her village) because of her workshop. Do not fail. Farewell, and greetings to your sister and all your family. Month Kaisareios 5.’

(Addressed on back) ‘To Komon from Kephalion’

9 The idiom required is καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις . . . ποιήσας (or ποιεῖν) αὐτὴν κατελθεῖν. Because of the similarity of the syllables in -πολειν, the infinitive ποιεῖν is the likelier candidate for omission.

11 ἐργαστήριον: ‘workshop’ may be too pretentious a translation. In PSI 692, 12 (Oxyrhynchus, 1 A.D.) there is mention of the concession of a παντοπωλικὸν ἐργαστήριον, i.e. a ‘general store’ or ‘bazaar’.

2845. LIST OF COLLECTORS

8 × 35.5 cm.

2nd half of 1st cent.

Under the heading 'Sesphtha: Practors' this list sets out 12 names with patronyms. According to F. Oertel, *Die Liturgie*, p. 196, based on BGU 1046, practors of corn dues functioned in colleges of six. If that principle applied in Oxyrhynchus at the date of this list, 2845 might be regarded as combining two groups in one single college, the practors both of corn dues and of money payments. It should be mentioned that *Ψενοσίριος* (l. 9) is placed in mid-line. Instead of the patronym expected in l. 8 and not written because of the space taken up by the double name, it could therefore be interpreted as a heading giving the name of a second village. The list would then give two groups of six for different villages. This solution would have more to commend it if *Ψενοσίρις* were attested as a village name in the Oxyrhynchite lists. Just possibly it is the village of the lower toparchy, the same toparchy as Sesphtha, missing at 1259 40 where Grenfell and Hunt read [...].*αυρ* [...].

- Σέσφθα*
πράκτορες
Ψεν[...]ρις Κεφαλάτ(ος)
Σαραπ() [...]ερίου
5 *Κόμων Μη[ι]θ(έου)*
Φίλισκος Διογένου(ς)
Άμμώνιο(ς) Παγκράτ(ους)
Πανεμγεύ(ς) ὃς καὶ .εξ. .[
Ψενοσίριος
10 *Άρπαῆς Διονυ(σίου)*
Διονύ(σιος) Πτόλλιδος
Άρίστανδ(ρος) Άριστάνδρ(ου)
Πασιών .υκαρίων[ο(ς)]
Θέων Άμφείωνο(ς)
15 *Διογένη(ς) Θεογένου(ς)*
- 3 *Ψεν[οσί]ρις* could be accommodated 13 Perhaps *Άυκαρίων[ο(ς)]*

2846. SALE OF A DONKEY

13.5 × 14 cm.

2nd half of 1st cent.

Ammonis son of Heraclas of Sinary certifies the sale of a donkey to Komon son of Mnesitheus. Recent literature on sales of donkeys is listed at P. Merton iii 120 introd. The document is broken at the foot.

Ἀμμών[ι]ς Ἡρακλᾶτος τοῦ Ἑρμογένους
 μητρὸς Cεναϊᾶντος τῆς Νααροφίβιος
 τῶν ἀπὸ Cιναρὺ τῆς κάτω τοπαρχίας
 Κώμου Μνησιθέ[ο]υ τοῦ Πετοσούχου
 5 μητρὸς Ἀλείνης τῆς Κόμωνος
 τῶν ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως χαίρειν.
 ὁμολογῶ πρεπρακεῖναι σοὶ τὸν ὑπάρ-
 χοντά μ[ο]ι ὄνον ἄρεν[ο]α μέλανα τέ-
 λειον τοῦτον τοιοῦτον ἀναπόριπον
 10 καὶ ἀπέ[χει]ν παρὰ σο[ῦ] διὰ χειρὸς ἐξ [οἴ-]
 κου τῆν [έ]σταμένην [π]ρὸς ἀλλήλους
 τούτου τιμῆν ἀργυρίου σεβαστοῦ
 ν[.] [.] [.]]ηκοντα δύο ἐ[κ]
 πλήρους [] και βεβαιώ-
 15 σιν πασῆ [βεβαιώσκει

4 l. Κόμωνι, Πετοσούχου 5 l. Ἀλίνης 7 l. σοι (possibly the ο was written over the first ι)
 9 l. ἀναπόριπον 11 Possibly the α in ἐσταμένην was written over ο 14 l. βεβαιώσκειν

'Ammonis son of Heraclas grandson of Hermogenes, his mother being Senaias daughter of Naarophibis, from Sinary in the lower toparchy to Komon son of Mnesitheus grandson of Petesouchus, his mother being Aline daughter of Komon, all from the city of the Oxyrhynchi, greeting. I agree that I have sold to you the black full-grown male donkey which is my property, thus and such as it is, irrevocable, and that I have received from you from hand to hand out of your house the price agreed between ourselves, namely . . .'

2 A name Cεναϊᾶς appears in P. Lond. 1164, 4 (iii p. 164). *Νααροφίβιος* has not previously occurred.

13 It is to be presumed that the price was stated in the formula ἀργυρίου σεβαστοῦ νομίματος δραχμᾶς x. No parts of this formula after the initial ν of νομίματος can be recognized. If δραχμᾶς were written out there would be no room for ἑκατόν, and the first figure may range from 50 to 90. A total below 100 drachmae (say 92) is on the low side compared with the prices quoted by A. C. Johnson, *Roman Egypt*, pp. 230 seqq. for late 1st and early 2nd century (A.D. 98, 108 dr. male donkey; A.D. 101, 306 dr. male donkey).

V. OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS

2847. GLOSSARY OF ADMINISTRATIVE TERMS CONCERNING LAND SURVEY AND TAXATION

16.9 × 22.1 cm.

1st half of 3rd cent.

The papyrus is written in an upright semi-uncial which resembles P. Giss. 40 (containing the edicts of Caracalla), although it makes no use of the large bipartite epsilon; in this respect it is rather similar to P. Meyer 20, which the editor assigns to the first half of the third century. Noteworthy is the use of brown ink throughout.

One column and the extreme left of a second are preserved from a glossary of technical terms concerning the *ἐπίσκεψις* and the surveys associated with it, *γεωμετρία* and *ἀναμέτρησις*. Of the eight entries which are preserved, six (col. i, 2–20) detail various categories of land and present some hitherto unattested terminology; the two remaining entries (col. i, 21–8) deal with the *corvée*. The text is probably part of a *vade mecum* designed for an official like the *comogrammateus* or *geometres*.

For a recent discussion of the *ἐπίσκεψις*, see D. Bonneau, *Actes du X^e Cong. Inter. Pap.*, pp. 137–49, especially 140–2, where the evidence of the 3rd century is summarized.

The verso contains, on the left side, badly faded remnants of eight lines of an account which seems to have been written in a hand different from that of the recto. Of this account I can read only the last line, and that with reservations: ↓ *γεί(νονται) ἄνδ(ρες?) Ἰβριῶν*. At the top part of the verso two lines, written in still another hand, are visible, though considerably rubbed in parts: ↓¹ / *ἐπικεκρμμένων ὧν δ.*² (*ἔτους?*) δ *Ἀβρηλιανοῦ σεβαστοῦ*. The date, if correctly deciphered, is A.D. 272/3.

Col. i

· · · · ·
 ἔμφορον[
 ὀρισμοῦ· ἔστιν τις γῆ ἧς ὁ φόρος πρὸς τὴν κατ' ἔτος
 δύναμιν τῶν καρπῶν εἰσφέρειται.
 αὐτενιαυτῶν· εἰς ταύτην τὴν ἐπίσκεψιν πολλὰ
 5 εἶδη ἐκπίπτει, οἶον, ἐκκοπτομένης ἀμπέ-
 λου, ἧ τὰ τελέσματα μειοῦται, τῆς ἀντ[ικατα]φυτευομέ-
 νης, τῆς ἐκχωρουμέ[ν]ης ἰδιωτικῆς γῆς, τῆς
 ὠνούμενης ἀπὸ χέρσου καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα.
 [π]αραποτάμων· ἅπαντα τὰ παρὰ τῷ ποταμῷ δη-
 10 μόσια καὶ ἰδιωτικ[κ]ὰ χωρία παρ. νι. .[±5] ἐπ[.]σκε-
 π.ται.

- [ὑπόλο]γος· ἀπάσης τῆς ἀφόρ[ο]ν <οὔ>σης κ[υρι]ακῆ[ς] διὰ τριε-
 τίας ἐπίσκεψις γέινεται, καλεῖτα[ι δὲ] ὑπόλογος ἐπει-
 δὴ ὑπολογεῖται ἐκ τοῦ μέτρου τ[ῆς γ]ῆς τοῦ κατὰ πε-
 15 δῖον ὡς ὑπολειφθῆναι τὸ λοιπὸν ἔμφορον.
- [γε]ωμ[ε]τρίας· τῶν ἀμπελώνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δεν-
 δρικῶν διὰ τέρτραετίας ἀναμέτρησις γέινεται.
- [ἀν]αμέτρησις παντὸς ἐδάφους· ὄζακις ἐὰ[ν] κυρια-
 κῆ γῆ ζητῆται, ἀναμετρεῖται ἐκεῖνα τὰ πεδία
 20 ἐν οἷς ἐστιν ἡ ζήτησις.
- [ἀνα]μέτρησις χωμάτων· ἕκαστος τῶν ἐπιχω-
 ρίων ἀνασκάπτει πέντε ναύβια εἰς . . φαλ . . .
 κατὰ τὴν ἐπιβολὴν τῶν χωμάτων, ἐλάττ[ονα δὲ]
 ὡς ἂν ἡ χρεία ἀπαιτῆ. ναύβιον δὲ ἐστιν μέτρον
 25 [γ]ῆς ὀρυσσόμενον τρεῖς πήχεις ἔχ[ο]ν τοῦ πλά-
 [του]ς καὶ μήκους καὶ βάθους.
- [ἀναμ]έτρησις διωρύχων· καὶ αἱ διώρ[υ]χες κατ' ἔτος
 [ἀ]περγάζονται, ἐκ γὰρ τῆς εἰ . . . [το]ῦ ποταμοῦ

Col. ii (top lost)

¹ ἐξαρῖθ[(c. 3 lines lost) ⁵ χερσα[(c. 1 line lost) ⁷ τ.[⁸ τ[⁹ α[¹⁰ ἐπιγραφη[
 11 στ[¹² χε[¹³ ἀπομερ[¹⁴ φι[¹⁵ οκ[¹⁶ πρ[¹⁷ μ.[¹⁸ κοίτη[¹⁹ και[²⁰ κα.[²¹ χερσάμπ[ελος
 22 γεν[²³ χερσοπαρ[²⁴ εἰπ[

Col. i 2 ορισμον ἐστιν Παρ.; a similar spacing occurs after the lemma throughout 5 ἐκπιπτει
 οἶον ἐκκοπτομένης 7 ἰδιωτικῆς 9 δη- 10 ἰδιωτικά 13 ὑπόλογος 14 ὑπολο-
 γεῖται 15 ὑπολειφθῆναι 22 l. ἀνασκάπτει 24 ἀπαιτη ναύβιον

Col. ii. The lemmata are 1, 5, 10, 13, 18, 21, 23

Col. i, lines 2 seqq.:

'(Revision concerning) determination: there is a category of land, the rent on which is paid in accordance with the annual yield of the crops.

'(Revision of) one-year crops: under this revision fall many kinds of land, for example, ground which is planted in replacement of a cut-down vine, whereby the taxes are reduced; ceded private land; land purchased from the unproductive category, etc.

'(Revision of) riverside land: all public and private properties located by the river . . .

'Land in deduction: the revision of all unproductive imperial land takes place every three years, and the land is called land in deduction, since it is deducted from the amount of land in each area, so that the productive part is left.

'(Revision concerning) land measurement: the measurement of vineyards and all other wooded areas takes place every four years.

'Measurement of every piece of land: whenever imperial land is subject to inquiry, those fields are measured with which the inquiry is concerned.

'Measurement of dike work: each of the inhabitants of the *chora* digs up five naubia . . . in reference

to the building up (?) of the dikes, or fewer whenever need dictates. A naubion is a measure of dug earth three cubits in breadth, length and depth.

'Measurement of canal work: the canals are also worked on each year; for from . . .'

Col. i

2 *ὄρισμοῦ*: probably *ἐπίσκεψις* is to be supplied here and in ll. 4, 9, and 18. The phrase *ἐπίσκεψις ὄρισμοῦ* regularly refers to determining the boundaries of land to be rented or sold (Bonneau, *Actes X^e Cong. Pap.*, p. 137 and n. 5). Here we seem to be concerned with land submitted to an annual *ὄρισμός* of the *καρποί* in order to determine the rent (cf. also *ὄρισμός καρπῶν* in BGU ii 599, 3).

4 *ἀυτενιαυτῶν*: 'for one year only'. With *ἀυτενιαυτῶν* Professor Youtie supplies *καρπῶν* and compares *ὄρισμοῦ (καρπῶν)* above. We are here concerned with lands whose rents are fixed for one year only; i.e. they are subject to revision after a year. The examples of land categories which the scribe gives are regularly concerned with a change of crop or a transfer from one production category to another. Under these circumstances a temporary change or reduction in taxation would normally result, and the land would be subject to periodic revision. Cf. Chalon, *L'Édit de Tib. Julius Alexander*, p. 146.

A use of the adj. *ἀυτενιαυτός* somewhat similar to that in the present text is found in P. Col. v. 5, 5; 10 where it means 'falling within the calendar year' (see editor's note ad loc.).

ἐπίσκεψιν: see A. Déléage, *Étl. Pap.* ii (1934), p. 122 'Le terme *ἐπίσκεψις*, qui désigne la rectification du nombre global d'aroures à dégrever dans chaque section, signifie simplement révision, sans idée de mesure . . .'

5 *ἐκπίπτει*: *εἰσπίπτει* cannot be read. For *ἐκπίπτει* cf. the common phrase *ἐκπίπτοντας εἰς τὸ ἐνεστώδες ἔτος καρπούς*.

5-7 *ἐκκοπτομένης ἀμπέλου*: P. Parsons compares BGU iv 1119, 26-7 and 1120, 33-4, where dead trees are replaced (*ἀντικαταφυτεύειν*) by *ἀυτενιαυτά*.

7 *ἐκχωρομέ[ν]ης*: *ἐκχωρέω* technically refers to the surrender of royal land, while *παραχωρέω* designates the cession of private land; but the distinction is not always maintained. See P. New York i 20 introd. and note to l. 8.

Why one-year rents are imposed on ceded private land is not clear. Perhaps, after the land changed ownership, the government wanted to ascertain quickly whether any change in productivity had resulted.

9 [*π*]αραποτάμων: neither *παρὰ ποταμόν* (cf. 589) nor *παραποταμίων* is a likely reading. The adjective *παραπόταμος* is new (cf. *παράλιος* and *πάραλος*).

10 *παρ.νι. . . [±5] επ[.]σκεπ.ται*: possibly *παρ' ὧν ἰδι[ωτικὰ] ἐπ[ι]σκέπ[ε]ται (παρ' ὧν ἰδι[ωτικὰ]* suggested by E. G. Turner).

12 *τῆς ἀφόρ[ο]ν <οὔ>ρης κ[υρι]ακῆ[ς]*: sc. *γῆς*. For the reading cf. P. Beatty Panop. 2, 129 *ἀπὸ ὑπόλογον ἀφόρου*. Possibly *ἀφορ[ο]ύρης* was intended, but *ἀφορέω* is a very rare word (see LSJ), which has not appeared in papyri.

κυριακή γῆ, mentioned also below, ll. 18-19, is a comprehensive term for land belonging to the *κυριακός λόγος*, or *fiscus*. As such it includes *δημοσία γῆ* and probably *βασιλική γῆ* and may also be used in a broader sense to take in *οὐσιακή γῆ*: see P. Oxford Wegener (P. Lugd. Bat. iii) 3, 4 n. For a discussion of *ὑπόλογος*, see Roberts and Skeat, *Aegyptus* xiii (1933), pp. 466-8; P. Beatty Panop. 2, 129 n.; P. Petaus 17-23 introd.

14 *μέτρον*: 'amount'; cf. *WB* ii s.v. 2, *LSJ* s.v. 3.

16 [*γ*]ωμ[ε]τρίας: Professor Youtie says of the information here recorded: 'That this was also true for the Fayum is nicely illustrated by the Tax Rolls from Karanis, where the tax assessment for *γεωμετρία* covers a four year period. When it is paid in four annual instalments, each of these is called (*τέταρτον*) *μέρος γεωμετρίας*. (Where Wallace, *Taxation*, p. 48 says 'at intervals of five years', he should have said every fourth year.)'

18 [*ἀν*]αμέτρης: see Chalon, *L'Édit de Tib. Julius Alexander*, p. 230 'Par *ἀναμέτρης*, il faut entendre l'arpentage pratiqué chaque année lors de l'*ἐπίσκεψις* et destiné à fixer avec précision l'assiette de la charge foncière . . ., en maintenant le cadastre à jour.'

19 *ζητῆται*: this, together with *ζήτησις* in l. 20, probably refers to judicial inquiry. For *ζήτησις* with this meaning, see 237 vi 7, and cf. 97 14.

21 *χωμάτων*: here apparently = *χωματικῶν ἔργων*.

22 Milne's theory (O. Theb. pp. 146-7, *Archiv* vi (1920), p. 133) that five naubia correspond to the penthemeros finds support in this section, despite the modification in ll. 23-4. It is difficult to reconcile this obligation with the fact that every individual was required to dig a number of naubia in proportion to his landed property (Sijpesteijn, *Penthemeros-Certificates*, P. Lugd. Bat. xii, p. 18). Perhaps we are to think of two independent requirements (see H. C. Youtie, *TAPA* lxxiii (1942), p. 80 n. 64).

εις...φάλ...: perhaps εἰς ἀσφάλειαν, i.e. 'for security regarding [= to safeguard] the building up of the dikes'. Cf. P. Teb. iii 706, 28 περὶ τῆς τῶν χω(μάτων) ἀσφαλείας.

23 τὴν ἐπιβολὴν τῶν χωμάτων: cf. P. Petr. iii 37 a II 3 εἰς ἐπιβολή[ν πα]λα[ιοῦ] χάματος. 'Ἐπιβολή may mean 'building up' but the usual word in this context, especially in the Roman period, is ἀναβολή. Professor Youtie suggests that the phrase may be equivalent to κατ' ἐπιβολήν, i.e. 'in proportion to the quantity of earth work done'.

24-6. This is the standard definition of the naubion; see 1053 introd. and H. C. Youtie, *TAPA* lxxii (1941), p. 443 n. 15.

27 διωρύχων: see n. to l. 21.

28 [ἀ]περγάζονται: cf. 729 8 ἀπεργασίας τοῦ αὐτοῦ χάματος.

ἐκ γὰρ τῆς εἰ...: Prof. Youtie suggests εἰσρ[οί]ας and compares 1409 19.

Col. ii

1 Probably ἐξαριθ[μ]ησις, a word commonly used to designate the 'numbering' of livestock for official registration; see S. Avogadro, *Aegyptus* xv (1935), p. 138 and n. 3; P. Sarapion 5, 17.

10 ἐπιγραφή: the word here probably denotes the 'assessment' of various land taxes (1445 8 n.).

13 ἀπομερ[ε]: e.g. ἀπομερ[ε]ῖς, a general word for division of land? Cf. UPZ 195 (cf. A. Traversa, *Aegyptus* xxxi (1951), pp. 242-5) 10-11 ἀπομερίσαντες τὰς τε μεμερικμένας κώμα[ε].

18 κοίτη: this term, corresponding to *cfragis*, designates the topographical sections in which the land was divided, especially for purposes of ἐπίσκεψις. It has so far been used in this sense in the Oxyrhynchite, Hermopolite, and Mendesian nomes (see 2240-42 *passim*, Stud. Pal. xvii, p. 30 n. 16). For other senses of the word see P. Sarapion 4, 12 n.

21 χερράμπ[ε]λος: see Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt*, p. 16 'This land has been variously interpreted as "dry land" which, with proper irrigation and cultivation, was suitable for growing vines, and as former vineland'; and cf. 506 25 τὸ πρὶν ἀμπελικοῦ κτήματος νυνεὶ δὲ χερραμπέλ[ου].

23 χερσοπαρ[ε]: possibly χερσοπαρ[ε]ῖς, a word hitherto unattested.

2848. EXTRACT FROM Βιβλιοθήκη Ἐγκτήσεων

16.1 × 13.9 cm.

29 January, A.D. 225

The text (complete except for a broken last line) is an extract taken from the survey sheets of the βιβλιοθήκη ἐγκτήσεων of Oxyrhynchus and is of the same type as M. *Chr.* 194. It represents part of the file of Dionysius, son of Sarapion also called Harpocraton, and records the fact that he has been granted permission to borrow from an endowment given to the city by Aurelius Horion and his sons and by Calpurnius Firmus. Aurelius Horion's endowment is again involved in 705 15-53 (= W. *Chr.* 153), a petition drawn up in A.D. 200, in which he requests the right to present to Oxyrhynchus a large sum of money; this sum was to be invested and the interest was to be used to finance annual ephobic contests in the metropolis. Horion's sons, as lines 65-90 of 705 imply, were of a similarly philanthropic disposition. Calpurnius Firmus appears together with Aurelius Horion in PSI xii 1255. It is likely that he belonged to the family which included C. Valerius Firmus, prefect *c.* 245-7; and Claudius Firmus, prefect *c.* 264/5.¹ Both Horion

¹ See the recent treatment of O. W. Reinmuth, *BASP* iv (1967), pp. 116, 121.

and Firmus were wealthy Oxyrhynchites who rose to high positions in the government. The former's titles are given their fullest form in PSI xii 1255, 6-7 γενόμενος ἀγορανόμος καὶ εὐθημιάρχης [καὶ στρατηγός] τῆς πόλ[εως καὶ] πρεσβευτῆς καὶ ἀρχιδικαστῆς (see also 705 18-20, 1560 3-4, 10-11). The latter achieved the position of antarchidicastes and was also a cosmete and eutheniarch of Alexandria (see PSI xii 1255, 3-4; 1252, 4-6); he also held municipal offices at Oxyrhynchus (see 2723 1 and n.).

The extract is written on the reverse side of a sheet cut from a census list which on palaeographic grounds may be assigned to the second century. The lower portion of one column is preserved, although the left-hand side is extremely faded and has escaped decipherment. To the right are remnants of a second column. The text reads:

→ (Col. i) ¹]..[.] L [.]δ ²]..[.] L νζ ³]..[.] L νδ ⁴]..[.] c L νδ ⁵]..[.] α.. ουθιος L μη ⁶]..ν Ἄρποκ(ρατίωνος) L μζ ⁷].. μη(τρὸς) . . αρτύσιος L μζ ⁸] traces of c. 6 letters μη(τρὸς) Cenebootos L μγ ⁹] c. 12 letters ριος L μγ ¹⁰] c. 7 μη(τρὸς) T.[.]κ[.]ος L μβ ¹¹] c. 10 [.]ιτιαμου() L θ ¹²] c. 7 μη(τρὸς) [.]ιαθου L λζ ¹³] c. 7 μιος μη(τρὸς) Cαcναμοδτ(ος) L λδ ¹⁴] c. 6 [.]..ς.ςκ[.] L λδ ¹⁵]..[.]..υσιος L κθ. (Col. ii) ¹ .[² α.[³ .[⁴ ἱερο()α[⁵ τ[⁶ τ ⁷ .[⁸ .[⁹ γεωρ[¹⁰ ρ.[¹¹ α[¹² τ[¹³ ρ[

↓ ἔκκλ(ημψις) ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἐνκ(τήσεων) βιβ[λιοθ]ήκ(ης) διαστρω(μάτων) ἀνδρῶν μητροπ(όλεως).

Διονύσιος Cαραπίωνος τοῦ καὶ Ἄρποκρατίωνος τοῦ Cαραπ(ίωνος)

μητ(ρὸς) Θεωνίλλης. μετ' ἄλλα·

δ (ἔτους) Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Cεουήρου Ἀλεξάνδρου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου

5 Μεχειρ δ' οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐκδανεισμοῦ τῶν ἐπιδοθ(έντων) τῇ πόλει

χρημάτων ὑπὸ Αὐρηλ(ίου) Ὀρίωνος καὶ τῶν υἱῶν καὶ Καλπουρνί[ου]

Φίρμου ἐπέστειλαν τὸν Διονύσιον δεδανείσθαι ἐκ τῶν α(ὐτῶν)

χρημάτων ἀργ(υρίου) (τάλαντα) ἰβ (δραχμάς) Ἀψ ὥστε ἐπι. εἰ.

6 ὕων

'Extract from the property register office, from the survey sheets of the male inhabitants of the metropolis. (File of) Dionysius, son of Sarapion also called Harpocraton and of Theonilla, and grandson of Sarapion. After other items: Year 4 of Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Caesar the lord, Mecheir 4. The officials in charge of the investment of the funds presented to the city by Aurelius Horion and his sons and Calpurnius Firmus have given notice that Dionysius has borrowed from the same funds 12 talents 1,700 drachmas on terms that . . .'

¹ ἀνδρῶν μητροπ(όλεως): the addition of ἀνδρῶν emphasizes the fact that the διαστρώματα were organized on the 'Prinzip der Personalfolie' (Kiessling, *JJP* xv (1965), pp. 77 seq.).

²⁻³ Διονύσιος . . . Θεωνίλλης: the heading of Dionysius' κόλλημα (Kiessling, op. cit., p. 77; cf. M. Chr. 194, 1).

⁵ These officials appear only here. An ἐκδανιστής, with similar functions, is attested at Thera and Ephesus; see B. Laum, *Stiftungen in d. griechisch. u. römisch. Antike*, p. 148.

ἐκδανεισμοῦ: the *terminus technicus* for investment; see Laum, loc. cit.

ἐπιδοθ(έντων): ἐπιδίδωμι and ἐπίδοσις are regular in the context of endowment; *ibid.*, 121, 126.

2849. INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE πρωτοστάται

19.5 × 24.5 cm.

21 May, A.D. 296

This interesting papyrus contains instructions from τὸ κοινὸν τῶν πρωτοστατῶν of Oxyrhynchus to a *hyperetes* in response to a petition which is subjoined. The petitioner, Aurelia Apollonia also called Dieus, was due to supply two oxen to help in building a conduit, but has failed to send one of them as it has hurt its foot. She asks for her statement to be officially verified ἀσφαλείας τῆς ἡμετέρας ἕνεκεν. Her concern over this relatively slight matter gives us a glimpse of the tightness of official control at this period. As she came from a family of some consequence (13 n.) it is noteworthy that she describes the oxen as ὅπερ μόνον ἔχω ζεῦγος. The Greek in which the petition is written is of a higher standard than is usual by this date.

Apart from being an important addition to our scant knowledge of the office of πρωτοστάτης (discussed in 1 n.), the document is of interest for its format. The petition from Apollonia occupies lines 8–26 and is followed by *Αὐρηλία Ἀπ[ο]λλωνία ἐπιδέδωκα* in a different hand, which in its ungainliness contrasts sharply with the practised cursives used elsewhere in the document. Lines 1–7 are taken up with instructions from the office of the *protostatae*, the last line of which slightly overlaps the first line of the petition. Clearly what we have is one copy of the original petition, of which at least two copies were submitted (ἴσον = duplicate, line 3), and in drawing it up the scribe left the top five cm. of the papyrus blank, space which was subsequently used by the office of the *protostatae*; cf. P. Petaus 24.

(3rd hand) Τὸ κοινὸν τῶν πρωτοστατῶν τῆς λαμ(πρᾶς) καὶ λαμ(προτάτης)
 Ὁξ(υρυγχιτῶν) πόλεως

διὰ τῶν τὸν μῆν'α διοικούντων Αὐρηλίῶν Ἡρωνος καὶ Πλουτάρχου
 Ἑρμεία ὑπ(ηρέτη). τῶν ἐπιδοθ(έντων) βιβλίων ὑπὸ τῆς ἐγγεγραμ(μένης) ἴσον
 ἐπιστέλλεται σοι ὅπως ἀκόλουθα οἷς ἠξίωσεν πράξης.

5 ιβ (ἔτους) καὶ ια (ἔτους) τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ
 Σεβαστῶ(ν)

καὶ δ (ἔτους) τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν
 ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων Παχῶν κς. (4th hand) Σεσημ(είωμαι).

(1st hand) Ἐπὶ ὑπάτων τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ τὸ σ' καὶ
 Κωνσταντίου ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος τὸ β'.

10 Τῶ κοινῶ τῶν πρωτοστατῶν τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ λαμπροτάτης Ὁξυρυγχιτῶ(ν)
 πόλεως διὰ τῶν τὸν μῆνα διοικούντων Αὐρηλίῶν Πλουτάρχου καὶ
 Ἡρωνος ἀμφοτέρων γυμν(ασιάρχων?) [βουλευ]τῶν τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως
 παρὰ Αὐρηλίας Ἀπολλωνία[ς] τῆς καὶ Διεῦτος θυγατρὸς Καρᾶ ἄρξαντος τῆς τε
 λαμπροτάτης πόλεως τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων καὶ τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ λαμπροτάτης

- 15 Ὁξυρρυγχιτῶν πόλεως καὶ ὡς ἐχρημάτιζεν. τοῦ στοίχου καὶ νῦν καλοῦντος
 ὄπερ μόνον ἔχω ζευγος ταυρικῶν τὴν ἐργασίαν καὶ μετακομιδὴν ποιήσα-
 σθαι τῶν φορτίων λίθων τῶν χωρούντων πρὸς τὴν τῶν λιθίνων ἀφέ-
 σεων κατασκευὴν συμβέβηκεν τὸν ἕνα τῶν ταύρων πληγέντα κατὰ τοῦ
 20 ποδὸς ἀπομεμενηκέναι καὶ ἐπισφαλῶς ἔχειν. ὅθεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ τοῦτο γνω-
 σθῆναι ἐπιδίδωμι τάδε τὰ βιβλία ἀσφαλείας τῆς ἡμετέρας ἔνεκεν ἀξιούσα
 ἐπισταλῆναι ὑπηρέτην [τὸ]ν ἐποψόμενον τοῦτον καὶ τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν διάθε-
 σιν ἐγγράφως προσφωνῆσαι πρὸς τὸ δύνασθαι με τὸ ἀπαρενόχλητον ἔχ[ειν].
 (ἔτους) ιβ' Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Γαίου Αὐρηλίου Οὐαλερίου Διοκλητιανοῦ
 κα[ὶ
 (ἔτους) ια' Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μ[άρ]κ[ο]ν Αὐρηλίου Οὐαλερίου Μαξιμιανοῦ
 Γερμανικῶ(ν)
 25 μεγίστων Καρματικῶν μ[εγίστ]ων καὶ (ἔτους) δ' τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου
 καὶ
 Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων Σεβαστῶν Παχῶν κδ'.

(2nd hand) Αὐρηλία Ἀπ[ο]λλωνία ἐπιδέδωκα.

3 First β of βιβλίων a correction τῆς corrected from τῶν 5 ιβf≠ και ιαf≠ 6 δf≠
 21 ὑπηρετην

(Third hand) 'The board of the *protostatae* of the illustrious and most illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites, through the administrators for the month Aurelius Heron and Aurelius Plutarchus, to Hermias their assistant. A duplicate of the petition presented by the person mentioned is dispatched to you so that you may take action according to her request.

'Year 12 and year 11 of our lords Diocletian and Maximian Augusti and year 4 of our lords Constantius and Maximian the most noble Caesars, Pachon 26th.'

(Fourth hand) 'I have signed it.'

(First hand) 'In the consulship of our lords Diocletian Augustus VI and Constantius most noble Caesar II.

'To the board of the *protostatae* of the illustrious and most illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites, through the administrators for the month Aurelius Plutarchus and Aurelius Heron, both former (?) gymnasiarchs and councillors of the same city, from Aurelia Apollonia also called Dieus, daughter of Saras, former magistrate of the most illustrious city of the Alexandrians and of the illustrious and most illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites and howsoever he was styled.

'The rotation of duties even now requiring my yoke of oxen, which is the only one I have, to undertake labour and the transporting of the loads of stones being used for the construction of the stone conduits, it has turned out that one of them, being hurt in its foot, has remained behind and is liable to stumble. Therefore in order that this fact may be verified I present this petition to ensure our own safety, requesting that an assistant be dispatched to inspect this beast and to make a written report of its condition, to enable me to have peace and quiet.

'Year 12 of Emperor Caesar Gaius Aurelius Valerius Diocletian and year 11 of Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Valerius Maximian Germanici *maximi* Sarmatici *maximi* and year 4 of our lords Constantius and Maximian the most noble Caesars Augusti, Pachon 24th.'

(Second hand) 'I, Aurelia Apollonia, have presented it.'

1 τὸ κοινὸν τῶν πρωτοστατῶν: only the third occurrence of these officials and the first reference to their forming a κοινόν (a recurrent phenomenon at this period). In *Aegyptus* xxxvi (1956), pp. 254–74, R. Böhm republishes a Warsaw papyrus (now = SB vi 9502), also from Oxyrhynchus in the year A.D. 296 (month unknown), addressed by a horiodict to Ἰου]λιανῶ τ[ῶ κα]ὶ Διοσκούριδῆ γενομένῳ ὑπομη[ματογράφῳ π]ρυτανε[ύ]σαντι γυμνασιάρχῳ βουλευτῆ of Oxyrhynchus πρωτοστάτῃ [τῆς πρὸς λίβ]α τοπαρχία[ς] μερῶν Ζερύφεως. Böhm argues that the *protostates* was the controlling official in a subdivision of the toparchy and a forerunner of the *praepositus pagi*. The present papyrus does not altogether support this: *praepositi pagi* were each responsible on their own for a specific section of the nome and it is impossible to think of them forming a κοινόν, and the *protostatae* here are called officials of the city. The other relevant document, P. Cair. Isid. 64 (Karanis; c. A.D. 298), is a petition to the strategus for recovery of property, as an earlier approach to the *protostates* (ll. 9–10 προσήλθαμεν δὲ καὶ τότε τῷ γενομένῳ πρωτοστάτῃ τῆς κώμης) had proved ineffective. This indicates that the *protostates* was subordinate to the strategus, but the editors' suggestion in their note ad loc., that he is to be equated with the *προστάτης*, will certainly not suit the two papyri from Oxyrhynchus. In both these documents *protostatae* are concerned in control of the land economy, thus taking on functions normally the responsibility of the strategus. The existence of the office is therefore a clear indication that the power of the strategus is already on the wane by this date. No doubt the office was short-lived and did not survive the general administrative reorganization of the next decade.

2 τῶν τὸν μῆν' α' διοικούντων: I have not found this expression elsewhere. Cf. perhaps 1253 5–6 (4th cent.) τούς τε τὰ κοινὰ διοικοῦν[τας], which I should translate 'those administering the boards (of the magistracies)'.

For Heron and Plutarchus see 12 n.

3 ἐγγεγραμ(μένης): not, I think, ὑπ<ο>γεγραμ(μένης).

ἴσον: see the introduction.

12 γυμν(ασιάρχων): neither Heron nor Plutarchus is in Sijpesteijn, *Liste des gymnasiarques* (1967), unless Plutarchus is to be identified with no. 408 = 1416 9 (c. A.D. 299) Δωρίωνα τὸν καὶ Πλούταρχον. In 1204 (A.D. 299) an Αὐρήλιος Πλούταρχος ὁ καὶ Ἀτάκτιος κράτιστος appeals against nomination to the *decaprotia*, but is unlikely to be the same man.

13–15 Aurelia Apollonia also called Dieus also occurs as an ἀφῆλιξ in 1114 (A.D. 237), a bilingual document in which her father declares her succession to the inheritance of her deceased mother. From 1114 we learn that Saras, full name Marcus Aurelius Saras, was an ex-gymnasiarch and councillor of Oxyrhynchus (there is no mention of Alexandria), the son of an ex-eutheniarch and councillor of Alexandria, and that Apollonia's maternal grandfather was also an ex-gymnasiarch and councillor of Oxyrhynchus.

15–16 τοῦ στοίχου κτλ.: cf. 1119 12 τοῦ στοίχου καταλαβόντος τὴν ἡμετέραν βουλήν.

16 ζεῦγος ταυρικῶν: a conflation of ζεῦγος ταυρικόν and ζεῦγος ταύρων.

17–18 τῶν λιθίνων ἀφέσεων: cf. 918 col. v 20 ἄφεις λιθίνῃ; a different material is suggested by O. Bodl. 1827A, πλίνθος ὀπτῆ and κονία for ἀφέσεως χύματος, and perhaps by P. Mil. Vogl. iv 212v, col. ix 7 χωννύοντ(ε)ς ἄφειν (earth? cf. P. Gurob 9, 5). Further references: P. Alex. Inv. 22 (p. 20), P. Ryl. iv 583. 16, W. Chr. 387. iv 26, P. Mich. v 233; see Boak, *Racc. Lombroso*, pp. 45–8.

19 ἐπισφαλῶς ἔχειν: here in its literal meaning 'to be prone to fall'.

21 [ώ]ς ἐπιψόμενον is an alternative possibility.

22 πρὸς τὸ δύνασθαι με τὸ ἀπαρενόχλητον ἔχ[ειν]: cf. P. Leit. 8. 13 seqq. τῶν νόμων αὐτῷ συνχωρούντων [μετὰ τ]ῆς εἰς ὑ[πογραφ]ῆς τὸ ἀπ[αρεν]όχλητον [ὄν]τι καὶ ὀρφ[αν]ός, and for the construction 2268 7–8 πρ[ὸς τὸ τὸν δεσ]ποτικὸν οἶκον τὸ ἀσφ[α]λές ἔχε[ι]ν; perhaps also P. Ryl. ii 117. 25–6 πρὸς τὸ ἔχειν με τ[ὰ εἶ]μα ἐλεύθερον καὶ ἀνύβριστον καὶ ἀπαρενόχλητον.

2850–2851. REGISTRATIONS OF LIVESTOCK

The following two texts belong to a well-represented type. See the study of S. Avogadro, *Aegyptus* xv (1935), pp. 131–206, P. Phil. 8 introd. Recently published livestock registrations include P. Sarapion 4 and 5, P. Alex. Giss. 4.

2850. 5·8 × 25·0 cm. 26 Jan., A.D. 29. The text is similar to 245, in which the same officials are involved. Written across the fibres, recto blank.

↓ Χαιρέαι στρατηγῶι
 παρὰ Θεώνος τοῦ Πτο-
 λεμαί(ου). ἀπογράφομαι
 εἰς τὸ ἐγεστὸς ιε (ἔτος)
 5 Τιβερίου καίσαρος σεβαστοῦ
 τὰ ὑπάρχοντά μοι πρό-
 βατα δέκα δύο, αἴγας
 τρεῖς, (γίνεται) πρ(όβατα) ιβ, αἴγ(ες) γ,
 καὶ τοὺς ἐπακολουθοῦν-
 10 τας ἄρνas ἐρίφους.
 ἀναβήσονται περὶ Πέλα
 τῆς πρὸς λίβα τοπαρχίας
 καὶ δι' ὅλου τοῦ νομοῦ
 διὰ νομέως Πανε-
 15 χώτου τοῦ Πετεμοῦ-
 νικ ἀφηλίκου ἀναγρα-
 φομένου πε[ρ]ὶ Κερκε-
 μοῦνιν τῆς ἄνω τοπαρχ(ίας)
 ἐπιμεμιγμένα
 20 τοῖς *Κεντοεῦτως*
 καὶ ἄλλων, ὧν καὶ τά-
 ξομαι τὸ καθῆκον
 τέλος. εὐτύχ(ει).

(2nd hand) *Σαρα(πίων) τοπ(άρχης) σεση(μείωμαι) πρόβα(τα) δέ-*
 25 *κα δύο, αἴγ(ας) τρε[ῖς], (γίνεται) πρ(όβατα) ιβ, αἴγ(ες) γ.*
(ἔτους) ιε Τιβερίου καίσαρος σεβαστοῦ
Μεχ(εῖρ) ᾱ.

8 πρ(όβατα): ῥ Pap. αἴγ(ες): f^Γ Pap. (cf. total in 25) 15-16 l. Πετεμοῦνιος 16 l. ἀφή-
 λικος 20 l. Κεντοεῦτος

'To Chaereas, strategus, from Theon son of Ptolemaeus. I register for the present 15th year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus the twelve sheep and three goats which belong to me, total 12 sheep 3 goats, and the lambs and kids accompanying the flock. They will pasture in the neighbourhood of Pela in the western toparchy and throughout the entire nome, the shepherd being Panechotes son of Petemounis,

a minor registered at Kerkemounis in the upper toparchy, and they will mix with the flocks of Sentoeus and others. I will also pay the proper tax upon them. Farewell.'

(2nd hand.) 'I, Sarapion, toparch, have entered twelve sheep and three goats, total 12 sheep 3 goats.'

'The 15th year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, Mecheir 1.'

1 Chaereas' tenure of the office of strategus has previously been known from A.D. 21 to 28 (Henne, *Liste des stratèges*, p. 27; Mussies, *Supplément* [P. Lugd. Bat. xiv], p. 25; P. Princ. ii 24 introd.).

9–10 ἐπακρολουθοῦντας: 'accompanying the flock', see 353 (CPJ iii 482, 9–10 n.).

10 ἄρνας ἐρίφους: the same asyndeton occurs in P. Berl. Möller 7, 14, and CPJ iii 482, 10–11 n.

11 ἀναβήσονται: the asyndeton is surprising, and the scribe probably intended to write ἀνεμήσονται. The parallel texts have regularly ἀνεμήσεται (e.g. 245 10; P. Princ. ii 28, 10; P. Berl. Möller 7, 15), once ἀνεμήσονται (350; for the plural verb with a neuter pl. subject, see Mayser II iii pp. 28 seqq.). If ἀναβήσονται is interpreted as a blunder for ἀνεμήσονται, a somewhat similar error maybe seen in P. Ross.-Georg. ii 13, 4. The pap. has αναμησεται, which the editor articulates as ἀναμησεται (l. νεμησεται), but adds in his note 'ναμησεται kann [kaum?] anders zu erklären als gedankenloses Vereinigen zu αναμησεται statt ἀνεμησεται.'

24 For the toparch Sarapion, see P. Princ. ii 24 introd.

27 Μεχ(εῖρ) ᾱ: i.e. in the πρώτη ἀπογραφή; see 2851 11–12 n.

2851. 8.0 × 36.3 cm. 24 July, A.D. 60.

Τιβερίωι Κλαυδίωι Ἀσκληπιάδ(η)
 στρα(τηγῶ) καὶ Πτολεμαίωι βα(σιλικῶ) γρ(αμματεῖ)
 καὶ τοῖς γρά(φουσι) τὸν Ὁξ(υρυγχίτην)
 παρὰ Ἀρμιύσιος τοῦ Ἡρακλείου
 5 τῶν ἀπὸ Κύρων κώμης
 τῆς πρὸς λίβα τοπαρχίας.
 ἀπεγρα(ψάμην) τῶ ἐνεστῶτι 5 (ἔτει)
 Νέρωνος Κλαυδίου καίσαρος
 σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ
 10 αὐτοκράτορος ἐπὶ τῆς
 αὐτῆς κώμης τῶ πρώτῃ
 ἀπογρα(φῇ) ἄρνας ἑπτὰ, ἐρίφο(υς)
 δύο, οἷς οὐδὲν προσγέγ[ο-]
 νεν εἰς τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν
 15 ἡμέραν πρὸς τὴν δευ-
 τέραν ἀπογρα(φῆν) καὶ ὀμνύω
 Νέρωνα Κλαύδιογ
 καίσαρα σεβαστὸν Γερμανικὸν
 αὐτοκρ[άτορα] μὴ ἐψεῦσθαι.
 20 διεγτύχει

space of three lines

(2nd hand) [. . .] λ . . . ε ὁ παρ[ά]

Ἀσκλη(πιάδου) στρα(τηγοῦ) εἰση(μείωμαι). (ἔτους?) [5]

Νέρωνος τοῦ κυρίου

Ἐπεῖφ λ.

25 (3rd hand) Πασίων ὁ παρὰ Πτολεμαί[ο]υ

βασιλ(ικοῦ) γρα(μματέως) εἰση(μείωμαι). (ἔτους) 5 Νέρωνος τοῦ

κυρίου Ἐπι(φ) λ.

11 l. τῆ

27 l. Ἐπεῖφ

'To Tiberius Claudius Asclepiades, strategus, and Ptolemaeus, royal secretary, and the secretaries of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Harmiysis of Heraclius, of the village of Syron in the western toparchy. I registered in the present 6th year of Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator at the same village in the first registration seven lambs and two kids, to which nothing has been added up to the present day for the second registration, and I swear by Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator that I have not lied. Farewell.'

(2nd hand) 'I, . . ., agent of Asclepiades, strategus, have signed. Year 6 of Nero the lord, Epeiph 30.'

(3rd hand) 'I, Pasion, agent of Ptolemaeus, royal secretary, have signed. Year 6 of Nero the lord, Epeiph 30.'

1 Not in Henne, *Liste des stratèges*, or Mussies, *Supplément* (P. Lugd. Bat. xiv). He succeeded Tiberius Claudius Ammonius (Henne, p. 28; Mussies, p. 25).

2 Ptolemaeus' tenure of the office of βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς has previously been known for 65/6 (Henne, p. 85). The present text shows that he was βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς in 60. Whether he remained in office continually from 60 to 66 is not known, though tenures of this length are not uncommon; see Oertel, *Liturgie*, pp. 168 seqq.

3 τοῖς γρά(φουσι) τὸν Ὁξ(υρυγίτην): see Roberts and Skeat, *Aegyptus* xiii (1933), pp. 461 seqq.

11-12 τῶ (l. τῆ) πρώτη ἀπογρα(φῆ): this ἀπογραφή took place in Μεχέρ; the δευτέρα ἀπογραφή in Ἐπεῖφ. See S. Avogadro, *Aegyptus* xv (1935), pp. 168, 185 seqq.

2852. SUMMONS TO APPEAR IN COURT

7.4 × 22 cm.

A.D. 104/5

A παραγγελία, i.e. legal summons and formal initiation of civil procedure (litis denuntiatio). For parallel texts, see: Mitteis, *Chrestomathie*, nos. 50-4; Meyer, *Juristische Papyri*, no. 83 (= M. *Chrest.* 52); Hunt-Edgar, *Select Papyri* ii, no. 248 (= M. *Chrest.* 53). List of παραγγελίαι published to 1931, P. Oslo ii, p. 45 (but note that P. Cornell 14, listed there, is not a παραγγελία); subsequent list, to 1955, Taubenschlag, *Law of Greco-Roman Egypt*, p. 501. Add now SB 9314 = P. Mil. Vogl. 129 (A.D. 135). Discussion in Mitteis, *Grundzüge*, pp. 32-3, 136-40; Meyer, *Juristische Papyri*, pp. 124-5; Taubenschlag, *Law*², pp. 500-1, and see further full bibliography there.

Ἀπίωνι στρ(ατηγῶ)

παρὰ Καμβοῦτος τῆς Ἀμόιτος

μετὰ κυρίου Καράτος Περού-
 ριος ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως.
 5 τῶν ἐνεστῶτων μοι πρὸς
 Ἀπίωνα Δημητρίου καὶ
 Διονύς[ι]ς Διονυσίου μητρὸς
 Δημητρίας ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς
 πόλεως, περὶ ὧν βιαίως ἐπι-
 10 κρατοῦσι τοῦ ἀνεψιοῦ μου
 Δημητρίου τοῦ καὶ Διογέγονος
 ὑπαρχόντων ἀξίων ὄντων
 ταλάντων δέκα, ὧν μέρος μοι
 ἐπιβάλλει ἀπὸ δικαίου τῆς
 15 προκατακειμένης τοῦ πάπ-
 που μου Δημητρίου Διονυσίου
 διὰ δημοσίου διαθήκης, ἔτι
 δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἕτερον αὐτῶν
 Ἀπίωνα περὶ οὗ ὀφείλη τῇ
 20 μετηλλαχυῖῃ μου μητρὶ
 Ἀρσωῇ διὰ τῆς τοῦ αὐτοῦ
 πάππου μου δ[ι]αθήκης ἀργυ-
 ρίου ταλάντου ἑνός, πάντων
 δεομένων τῆς τοῦ κρατίστου
 25 ἡγεμόνος Οὐϊβίου Μαξίμου
 διαγνώσειως, ἀξιῶ συντά-
 ξαι τ. ντι. σὲ ὑπηρητῶν μετα-
 δοθῆναι ἑκατέρου αὐτῶν
 τούτου ἀντίγραφον, ἵν' ἔ-
 30 χοντος ἔνγραπτον παραν-
 γελίαν παραγένωνται ὅπου
 εἰάν ὁ νομὸς διαλογίζηται
 ἢ δικαιοδοτῆται, καὶ προσ-
 καρτερήσῃ τῷ τοῦ αὐτοῦ
 35 ἡγεμόνος βήματι ἄχρι οὗ
 ἐκβιβασθῇ ἢ ἔχω πρὸς
 αὐτοῦς. τῶν γὰρ ὑπόντων

μοι δικαίων ἀντέχομαι.
 (ἔτους) ἡ' αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος
 40 Νέρουα Τραιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ
 Γερμανικοῦ Δακικοῦ δ'
 Σεβαστῆ

Verso : (2nd hand)

διαστολ(ικόν)
 Καμβοῦτ(ος)

7 l. Διονύς[ι]ν 19 l. ὀφείλει 26 l. διαγνώσεως 27 l. ὑπηρετῶν 28 l. ἐκατέρω
 30 l. ἔχοντες

'To Apion strategus from Sambous daughter of Amois, having as her guardian-at-law Saras son of Pesouris from the city of the Oxyrhynchi. Certain matters are the subject of legal proceedings between me and Apion son of Demetrius, and Dionysius son of Dionysius, his mother being Demetria, from the same city. They have assumed forcible possession of property belonging to my cousin Demetrius also called Diogenes, it being of the value of 10 talents, and a part of it being mine by title of inheritance through a will previously deposited in the public record office by my grandfather Demetrius son of Dionysius. In addition I have a dispute against one of the parties, Apion, over the debt of 1 talent he owes my deceased mother Arsinoe in virtue of the will of my said grandfather. All these matters require the judicial decision of the excellent prefect Vibius Maximus. I therefore request that orders be given that through (?) one of your assistants a copy be given of this document to each of the parties, so that having a written summons they may attend at whatever place the conventus of the district is held and judgement is pronounced, and that they may persevere in presence at the tribunal of the said prefect until my dispute against them is settled. For I hold to my existing claims. Year 8 of the emperor Caesar Nerva Trajan Augustus Germanicus Dacicus, 4th, dies Augustus.'

(Endorsed on back) 'Notification of Sambous.'

1 Ἀπίωνι: this strategus is new.

5 τῶν ἐνεστῶτων μοι: 1195 8 (2nd cent.) τὰ ἐνεστῶτ[ά μοι π]ρὸς . . ., which Preisigke (*WB*, s.v.) renders 'meine Streitsache wider ihn'.

9 seq. βιαίως ἐπικρατοῦσι: in Greco-Egyptian law, a common remedy for misappropriation was an action against defendant for wronging plaintiff by taking possession (i.e. an action *in personam* rather than *in rem*): Taubenschlag, *Law*², p. 249. Expressions like βιαίως are used elsewhere (P. Tor. 3, 20) in connection with such actions. ἐπικρατεῖν = *bona possidere*, cf. P. Mich. 422 (Taubenschlag, *ib.*, p. 216 n. 13; *Rezept. d. röm. Rechts*, p. 401 n. 25).

14 δικαίου: legal ground of possession, title (Taubenschlag, *Law*², pp. 245 seq.).

15 προκατακειμένης of a document means officially deposited; Greco-Egyptian wills are invalid unless so deposited in the public archives.

25 C. Vibius Maximus, prefect of Egypt 103-7.

26 διαγνώσειως: the preliminary juridical investigation, by the prefect or by a subordinate officer. The genitive absolute ends here, and the main clause begins with ἀξιῶ.

26-7 The reading makes difficulties. The expected formula is ἀξιῶ δι' ἐνόε (or διὰ τινος) τῶν περὶ ἐν ὑπηρετῶν (or simply δι' ὑπρέτου) μεταδοθῆναι: see the parallels collected in *JJP* xi-xii (1957-8), pp. 141 seq. *συντάξαι* does not belong in this formula, but in the similar process of *Mahnverfahren*, where the archidicastes is asked to have a letter written (ἀξιῶ *συντάξαι γράψαι*) to the strategus (*ib.* 151). In our text, the ink between *συντάξαι* and *ὑπηρετῶν* is almost perfectly preserved. It looks like *τφντισε*; the φ (if correctly read: it is rather foreshortened) has been corrected to ι; the ε has been corrected from some straight-backed letter. Only violence will produce sense from this. We had tried <δι' ἐνόε> τῶν π(ερί) ἐν ὑπηρετῶν; but the abbreviation of *περὶ* is unexpected here, and unexampled in form. Perhaps the scribe's intention was *συντάξαι τινὶ <τῶν περὶ> ἐν ὑπηρετῶν*.

29-30 Cf. SB 7870, 14-15.

33-5 The summons is for the term of the assize, not for a stated day; the parties remain in the wings until their case comes up. See Mitteis, *Gz.*, pp. 36-7, P. Hamb. 4, 7 seqq. and note.

42 The month name is omitted.

Verso. The second hand would be that of a government clerk, docketing the application for the files (the files of the strategus' office, presumably).

2853. PETITION TO STRATEGUS

10.7 × 10.4 cm.

c. A.D. 245/6

Two superintendents of the dike works at Chiliarourae (3 n.) complain that a man and his brother are shirking their corvée duty. They address their petition to Julius Ammonius also called Evangelius, strategus of the Thinite nome c. 245/6 (1 n.).

On the verso are the remnants of an account, which to judge from the hand (comparable, e.g., with R. Seider, *Paläographie der griechischen Papyri* i, Taf. 31), was written in the first half of the fourth century. These read:

¹].. ² Βορρ]ᾶ Κρη[π(ῖδος)] ε ³ Ν]ότου Κρη(πίδος) β ⁴ Π]λατίας δ
⁵]Μ[υ]ροβαλά(νου) δ ⁶]Κρητικοῦ β ⁷].....

(I owe the reading in 3 to Dr. Rea.) These are all names of well-known amphoda in Oxyrhynchus: see H. Rink, *Strassen- und Viertelnamen von Oxyrhynchus*, Diss. Giessen 1924, p. 52.

→ Ἰουλίῳ Ἀμμωνίῳ τῷ καὶ Εὐαγγε[λίῳ] στρατ.
παρὰ Ἀνρηλίῳν Ἀρείου Τριαδέλφου καὶ Ἀμ-
μωνίου Διονυσίου ἐπιμελητῶν διώρυγος (Χιλιαρουῶν).
σήμερον ἧτις ἔστιν Τῦβι ἔ προσεληλύθαμεν
5 Ὡτῆρι καὶ ἀδελφῶ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὡς χρηματίζουσιν
ἀξιοῦντες αὐτοὺς τὸ ἐπιβάλλον αὐτοῖς μέρος τῆς
διώρυγος ἐργάσασθαι. οἱ δὲ μηδενὶ λόγῳ χρῆσά-
μενοι ἐπῆλθον ἡμῖν καὶ πληγαῖς ἠκίσαντο.
ὅθεν ἐπιδίδομεν τόδε τὸ βιβλίδιον ἀξιοῦν-
10 τες πρῶτον μὲν τῆς δεούσης ἐκ[δ]ικίας τυχεῖν,
ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τὸ μέρος αὐ[τ]ῶν τῆς διώρυγος ἐρ[γά-]
σασ[θ]αι πρὸς τὸ δύν[ασθαι] ἡμᾶς τοῖς ἄλλοις(?)
μέρεσι προσευκ[αιρεῖν]. διευτύχει.]
[(ἔτους) x α]ὐτοκρατό[ρων]

3 (Χιλιαρουῶν): Ab Pap.

'To Julius Ammonius also called Evangelius, strategus . . ., from Aurelius Arcius son of Triadelphus

and Aurelius Ammonius son of Dionysius, superintendents of the canal of Chiliarourae. Today, the 5th of Tubi, we approached Soter and his brother, by whatever names they are known, requesting them to work on their part of the canal. But they, for no reason at all, attacked and assaulted us with blows. Accordingly we present this petition, requesting first that we should obtain requisite satisfaction, and secondly that they should work on their part of the canal, in order that we may be able to attend to the other parts of the canal. Farewell.

'Year . . . of the Emperor(s) . . .'

1 Julius Ammonius alias Evangelius is known from an unpublished Oxyrhynchus document of A.D. 245/6; he is there described as strategus of the Thinite nome. We could accordingly consider two possible approaches to the damaged end of line 1. (a) $\zeta\tau\rho\alpha(\tau\eta\gamma\omega)$ $\Theta(\omega\iota\tau\omicron\upsilon)$: but this abbreviation for the nome looks unlikely; and in any case theta is not a necessary reading (the trace is merely a longish stroke extending below the line). (b) $\zeta\tau\rho\alpha\zeta$: the final trace is then taken as an abbreviation-stroke. The only thing against this is the distance which separates the supposed abbreviation-stroke from the descender of ρ preceding.

3 (*Χιλιαρουρων*): this village appears only here, but cf. PSI v 460 (BL i, p. 400), 2-3 *κωμάρχ(η) (Είκοσιπενταρουρων)*, and see P. Tebt. ii, p. 392; cf. P. Mil. Vogl. ii 50, 14 n. The adj. *χιλιάρουρος* appears in P. Cair. Zen. iii 59361, 5, 9.

13 *προσευκ[αιρείν]*: for the word, cf. 1119 12, 487 16.

14 For the various titles of Philip I and II, see P. Bureth, *Les titulatures impériales dans les papyrus*, p. 114.

2854. REFUSAL TO ACCEPT APPOINTMENT AS EUTHENIARCH

24.4 × 24.8 cm.

12 Nov., A.D. 248

Duplicate copies of a refusal to accept appointment as eutheniarch, joined and trimmed after writing with a consequent loss of the subscription of the second copy. The text given here is that of the second copy with all supplements except $\omega\nu$ in 24 guaranteed by the first copy. Septimius Eudaemon protests against his nomination to the eutheniarchy and cedes his property to Aurelius Pasion who appointed him. He apparently chose *cessio bonorum* (cf. C.P.R. 20 = W. *Chrest.* 402 and also 1405) to evade the liturgy. The document is particularly interesting because of its connection with P. Erlangen 18, dated 27 October 248 and also from Oxyrhynchus. In it a prytanis nominates a man, whose name is lost, to 16(?) days of eutheniarchy, possibly the time between 27 October and 12 November. The document also makes even more clear the difficulty in filling the office, especially when the statement in the Digest 50. 5. 14. 1 (Modestinus) is considered: *eodem tempore idem duas curas operis non administrabit*. This principle does not seem to have applied in Oxyrhynchus to the combination of the eutheniarchy and gymnasiarchy (cf. 908, 1418¹). The reforms of the liturgical system shown in 2664 (about A.D. 245/8) combined with the obvious difficulty in filling the eutheniarchy vividly shown here and in P. Erlangen 18 and the statement of 1252 verso that the office had been suspended at least at Oxyrhynchus $\mu\omicron\lambda\lambda\omega\ \chi\rho\acute{o}\nu\omega$ before A.D. 289 suggest that the eutheniarchy may well have been a deserving casualty of the general liturgical reform which occurred about A.D. 248 (see P. J. Parsons *JRS* 57 [1967], pp. 134-41 on the possibility of a complete reform of the liturgical system in this period). Even after the

¹ And cf. also F. Oertel, *Die Liturgie* p. 343.

office was revived it continued to be extremely difficult to fill, as 1252 shows. The latest document 1417 (early fourth century) also supports this: it reports an action brought by the senate of Oxyrhynchus against eutheniarchs who failed to perform their duties.

It was possible for Septimius Eudaemon to protest against his appointment in other ways and on other grounds, see P. Leit. 4, 6, 7, and 9. However, it would seem from the rapidity with which the petition was filed that he really had very little faith in the protective efficacy of τὰ γενόμενά μοι ὑπὸ τῆς κρατίστης βουλῆς ψηφίσματα.

(2nd hand) *Αὐρηλίω Πασίῳ καὶ Ἀπολλωνίῳ γυμνα-
σιαρχήσαντι ἐνάρχῳ πρυτάν' εἰ βουλευτῇ τῆς
'Οξυρυχειῶν πόλεως.*

παρὰ Σε[ε]πτιμίου Εὐδαίμονος γυμνασιά[ρχου
5 βουλε[υτο]ῦ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως υἱοῦ Σεπ[τιμίου]
Cερήνο[υ] ἐξηγητεύσαντος καὶ πρυτα[νεύ-
σαντο[ς] τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως. Ἐπ[εὶ] παρὰ
τὰ γενόμενά μοι ὑπὸ τῆς κρατίστης β[ου]λῆς
ψηφίσματα ἐφ' οἷς πεποιήμαι τῆς ἀν[αδο-
10 χῆς τῆς γυμνασιαρχίας ὄροις πρὸς τὰς [δυ-
νάμεις μου ὠνόμασάς με ζήμερο[ν] ἥτις
ἔστω [ἰ]ῶ ἐν τῇ κρατίστῃ βουλῇ εἰς εὐθην[ιαρ-
χίας ἡμέρας πα[ρ'] αὐτὸ μ[ὲν]
ἐπὶ τ[ῶ]ν ὑπομνημάτων τῆς βουλῆς
15 ἔκστασίν σοι προεβαλόμην καὶ νῦν δι[ε]
διὰ τῶνδε τῶν βιβλιδίων τὴν ἔκστα[σίν]
σοι προσφέρω παντ[ὸ]ς τοῦ ὑπάρχον[τός]
μοι πόρου ἐπὶ τῶ ζε ἀντιλαβόμεν[ον]
τῶν ὑπ[α]ρχόντων μοι ἀποπληρῶ[σαι]
20 ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ τὴν τε γυμνασιαρ[χίαν]
καὶ εὐθηνιαρχίαν καὶ τὰ ἐπόμ[ενα]
αὐτῇ ἀναλώματα πάντα ἔ[τι] δὲ
καὶ τὰ ὀφ' εἰλόμενα ὑπ' ἐμοῦ σειτικ[ὰ]
καὶ ἀργυρικὰ τελέσματα ὑπὲρ τε [ῶν]
25 κέκτημαι ὑπ[α]ρχόντων καὶ οὐ ἔχ[ω]
ἐν μισθώσει μέρ[ου]ς οὐσίας πρό[τ]ερον
Κλαυδίου Κυρίωνος ἐωνογυμνασιά[ρ-
χου τῆς λαμπροτάτης Ἀλεξανδρ[ε]ί-
ας. πρὸς ἅπερ τελέσματα πάντα

- 30 ὁ ἐκβάς οἶνος ἀπὸ τῶν χωρίων κα[τε-
 νεγυήθη ὑπὸ τῶν δεκαπρώτων.
 καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὡμολόγησα.—
 (ἔτους) 5 Αὐτοκρατόρων Καιά[ρ]ων Μάρκ[ων
 Ἰουλ[ίω]ν Φιλίππων Εὐσεβῶν Εὐτυχῶ[ν
 35 Σεβ[α]στῶν Ἀθῦρ ἐκκαιδεκάτη.

Verso: (3rd hand) . . . απια ἄδελφῆ(?)

5 ὄϊου	8 ὑπο	11 horizontal dash (cf. 32) after μου in copy 2	14 ὑπομνηματων
19 ὑπ[α]ρχοντων	20 ὑπερ	23 ὑπ, l. κυτικ[ά	24 ὑπερ
27 l. αἰωνογυμνασιά[ρ-	31 ὑπο	34 ἰουλ[ιω]ν	25 ὑπ[α]ρχοντων

'To Aurelius Pasion also called Apollonius, ex-gymnasiarch, prytanis in office, senator of the city of the Oxyrhynchites. From Septimius Eudaemon gymnasiarch, senator of the same city, son of Septimius Serenus ex-exegetes, ex-prytanis of the same city. Whereas, contrary to the resolutions made for me by their excellencies the senate upon the conditions which I laid down for undertaking the gymnasiarchy in accordance with my means, you nominated me today which is the sixteenth in the most excellent senate to *x* days of eutheniarchy: immediately in the proceedings of the senate I put forward to you a resignation and now through this petition I submit to you the resignation of all property belonging to me on the condition that you take my property and perform for me in full both the gymnasiarchy and the eutheniarchy and pay in full all the expenses pertaining to it and furthermore the taxes in grain and money owed by me on the property I own and on the portion of the estate formerly of Claudius Syrius life-gymnasiarch of Alexandria the glorious which I have on lease. In respect to all of which taxes the wine produced from the lands has been distrained by the decaproti. And being officially questioned, I agreed. Sixth year of Imperatores Caesares Marci Iulii Philippi Pii Felices Augusti, 16th Hathyr.'

1 *Αὐρήλιος Πασιῶν ὁ καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος*: in A.D. 247 this man petitioned for relief of his son from a liturgy mentioning that he himself had been both gymnasiarch and eutheniarch (1418). In 1637 a *Πασιῶν ὁ καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος* and an *Αὐρήλιος Πασιῶν* who appear to be different people are involved in a division of property in A.D. 257-9. In the middle of the third century A.D., (2271), Septimius Eudaemon *γυμνασιάρχ(ος)* is one of two public bankers who issue a receipt to three sons of *Πασιῶν ὁ καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος* one of whom is an *Αὐρήλιος Πασιῶν*. From E. P. Wegener's edition, *Mnemosyne* ser. 4, vol. 1 (1948) pp. 311-13, it seems likely that the traces of the name of the prytanis at the beginning of line 2 in P. Erlangen 18 are to be read and supplemented as *Πα[ρ]ίωτος το[ῦ] καὶ Ἀπολλωνίου*.

4 Besides the *Σεπτίμιος Εὐδαίμων* in 2271 mentioned above, there is an *Ἰσιδώρα Σεπτιμίου Εὐδ[αί]μονος* in 1649 19, but it is dated after A.D. 280.

5 *Σεπτίμιος Σερήνος ὁ καὶ Ἰσχυρίων ἐξηγητής* is found in 1413 2. However the document is of the reign of Aurelian.

13 *ἡμέρας* requires a number for which there is more than enough space. It could be any figure from sixteen (?) (P. Erl. 18, 20) to five days (1418 28) or possibly more. The expression in P. Erl. 18, 19 is *ἀνεδεί[χ]θη εἰς ἡμέρας ἐθνην[α]ρχίας . . . ἰξ*. For *παρ' αὐτό* cf. 2130 14.

27 *αἰωνογυμνασιάρχος*: first occurrence of this compound in Greek, although the uncompounded form *αἰώνιος γυμνασιάρχος* is recorded e.g. *C. P. Herm.* 62, 27 and 29. B. Laum, *Stiftungen in der griechischen und römischen Antike* (Berlin, 1914), pp. 47-8, collects inscriptional evidence of *αἰώνιοι γυμνασιάρχοι* in various parts of the empire.

Verso: Whether this is an address or later scribbling is uncertain, especially because of the non-alignment of the name (?) and *ἀδελφῆ*.

2855. APPLICATION TO REGISTER A CHILD

17·8 × 24·5 cm.

4 April, A.D. 291

Aurelius Cornelius applies to the authorities at Oxyrhynchus for permission to register the son of his deceased friend Aurelius Arianus, an honourably discharged veteran. The boy, aged thirteen, belongs to the privileged class of *dodecadrachmoi ἀπὸ γυμνασίου*. Documents of this type are listed by Montevicchi, *Aegyptus* xxvii (1947), pp. 3–4, and, for Oxyrhynchus only, by P. Mertens, *Les Services de l'état civil*, pp. 48–65, where there is a detailed study of the seven examples known (add P. Wisc. i 17). Three of these, PSI iii 164 (A.D. 287), P. Corn. 18 (A.D. 291) and P. Fuad Crawford xiii (A.D. 297/8), are from the reign of Diocletian and, as would be expected, offer the closest parallels to the present text. P. Corn. 18 in fact comes from the same year and is addressed to the same man, Aurelius Diogenes also called Hermias, but whereas it gives him the expected title of *systates*, he appears here as representing τὸ κοινὸν τῶν λαογράφων. Not only is this the first example of *laographi* receiving an application of this nature, it is surprising to find them existing at all at this late date; see further 1 n. The other remarkable feature is that Cornelius makes the application as a friend of the boy's deceased father. No mention is made of any blood relationship and we must therefore suppose that Cornelius had none.

In other respects the document keeps to the known pattern, with only minor variations which are discussed in the notes. It accords with the view that boys must be registered before their fourteenth birthday, and that only sons of the privileged classes were registered, at any rate in the third century (see Hombert-Préaux, *Recherches sur le recensement* (= P. Lug. Bat. v), p. 117; but cf. Mertens, *op. cit.*, p. 57). It raises again the question why such applications were still being made, if we are right in thinking that the poll-tax was no longer being collected (Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt*, p. 134). Probably the aim was to ensure recognition of the boy's claim to the status of ἀπὸ γυμνασίου, the inclusion of δωδεκάδραχμος being no longer of any significance (cf. Wallace, *op. cit.*, p. 405). It was also important to ensure that the boy was registered in the right *amphodon* for performance of his public duties, see Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, p. 334.

The application was submitted in two copies, now separate but originally part of the same piece of papyrus. A hole down the centre has resulted in some loss at the ends of lines in the left-hand copy (A) and at the beginnings in the right-hand copy (B); otherwise the document is complete. Each copy includes the application and Cornelius' signature in a different hand. B adds a summary, no doubt by the clerk of the office receiving the application (ll. 27–8), plus three lines whose purpose is obscure (ll. 29–31). The text printed is that of B; there are no significant variations in A. P. Corn. 18 offers a parallel for submission of the application in duplicate, both copies being signed (though there the hand does not change at this point), and for the addition of a brief summary of the contents at the foot of one copy only (see lines 29–31 n.).

I am indebted to Professor H. C. Youtie for some suggestions.

- Τῶ κυνῶ τῶν λαογράφων τῆς λαμπρᾶς
 καὶ λαμπροτάτης Ὁξυρυγ'χ(ιτῶν) πόλεως διὰ τοῦ
 ἐνὸς αὐτῶν Αὐρηλίῳ Διογένη τῶ καὶ Ἑρμείᾳ
 τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ζ (ἔτους) καὶ σ (ἔτους)
 5 παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Κορινθίου Ἰσιδώρου μη(τρὸς)
 Θαήσιος ἀπὸ τῆς λαμ(πρᾶς) καὶ λαμπροτάτης
 Ὁξυρυγ'χ(ιτῶν) πόλεως. βούλομαι πρῶτως
 ἀπογράψασθαι παρὰ σοὶ τὸν τοῦ φίλου μου
 καὶ μετηλλαχότος Ἀριανοῦ οὐετρανοῦ
 10 τῶν ἐντίμως ἀπολελοιμένων
 ὑἱὸν Αὐρήλιον Ἀριανὸν ἐκ μητρὸς
 Διονυσίας ἐπ' ἀμφόδου Παμμέγους Παραδ(είσου)
 ὄντα πρὸς τὸ ἐνεστὸς ζ (ἔτος) καὶ σ (ἔτος) (ἐτῶν) ιγ
 (δωδεκάδραχμον) ἀπὸ γυμνασίου. διὸ ἐπιδίδωμι τὸ
 15 ὑπόμνημα ἀξιῶν αὐτὸν ταγήναι
 [εἰ]ς τὴν τῶν ὀμηλικῶν τάξιν ὡς
 καθήκει καὶ ὀμνύω τὸν ἔτιμον
 [Ῥ]ωμαίοις ὄρκον μὴ <ἐ>ψεῦσθαι. (ἔτους) ζ''
 [Α]ὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Γαΐου Αὐρηλίου
 20 [Ο]ὐαλερίου Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ (ἔτους) σ''
 [Αὐ]τοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου
 [Οὐ]αλερίου Μαξιμιανοῦ Γερμανικῶν
 [με]γίστων Εὐσεβῶν Εὐτυχῶν
 [Σε]βαστῶν Φαρμουῦθι θ'.
 25 (2nd hand) [Αὐρ]ήλιος Κορινθίος ἐπειδέδωκα καὶ
 [ῶμο]σα τὸν ὄρκον ὡς πρόκειται.
 (3rd hand) [Παμ]μένους Παραδείσου
 [Ἀρεια]νὸς Ἀρειανοῦ (ἐτῶν) ιγ
 (4th hand?) [Ἀρειαν]ὸς ὑἱὸς Ἀρειανοῦ οὐετρανοῦ ἐν Θω-
 30 [± 6 letters] διὰ Κορινθίου κωμαστοῦ προτομῶ(ν)
 π...χων ἐν τῇ (αὐτῇ) κώμῃ.

1 κυνῶ: so A, 1. κοινῶ 3 αυρηλιω corrected from αυρηλιου; so A, 1. Αὐρηλίου Διογένους τοῦ
 καὶ Ἑρμείου 4 ζ σ'' καὶ σ σ'' 10 απολελοιμενων: so A, 1. ἀπολελυμένων 11 ἐκ'μητρος
 14 [ι]βς pap. 15 ταγήναι αὐτόν A 16 ε[ι]ς A 17 1. καθήκει, ἔτιμον 18 μη ψευσθαι A
 25 1. ἐπιδέδωκα 26 ῶμ[ο]σα A 31 (αὐτῇ) see commentary

'To the board of the *laographi* of the illustrious and most illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites through one of them, Aurelius Diogenes also called Hermias, for the current 7th and 6th year.

'From Aurelius Cornelius son of Isidorus, mother Thaeasis, from the illustrious and most illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites.

'I wish to register with you for the first time the son of my deceased friend Arianus, a veteran of the class of those with *honesta missio*, Aurelius Arianus, whose mother is Dionysia, in the *amphodon* of Pammenes' Garden, who is in the current 7th and 6th year 13 years old, *dodecadrachmos*, of the gymnasial class. Wherefore I present this application, asking that he be enrolled in the class of his age group as is appropriate, and I swear the oath customary to Romans not to have lied. 7th year of Emperor Caesar Gaius Aurelius Valerius Diocletianus and 6th year of Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Valerius Maximianus, Germanici Maximi Pii Felices Augusti, Pharmuthi 9th.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius Cornelius, have presented it and I swore the oath as aforesaid.'

(3rd hand) '(*Amphodon*) of Pammenes' Garden. Arianus son of Arianus, 13 years old.'

(4th hand?) 'Arianus son of Arianus veteran in Tho, enrolled through Cornelius, celebrant of the busts in the same village.'

1 τῶ κινῶ τῶν λαογράφων: for another example of officials forming a *κοινόν* in the reign of Diocletian cf. 2849 1 τὸ κοινὸν τῶν πρωτοστατῶν. The number of *laographi* at Oxyrhynchus may have equalled the number of *amphoda*, see Mertens, op. cit., pp. 81-3. Nowhere else do we find a *κοινόν* of *laographi*. On the contrary, each *laographus* seems to be responsible for his own *amphodon* only (Mertens, loc. cit.).

Other evidence about the *laographi* all supports Wallace's remark (op. cit., p. 99) that they 'were local officials whose sole concern seems to have been the census and the poll-tax'. As the latter apparently disappeared by the middle of the third century and the former is last attested in A.D. 257/8 (Wallace, op. cit., p. 98), Mertens (op. cit., p. 40) reasonably assumed that 'avec elle ont dû disparaître les λαογράφοι'. We see now that the *laographi* survived but in doing so took on a new function. This is not as surprising as it might at first seem. In the first place, the *laographus* was one of the recipients of *κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφαί*, indeed the sole recipient in third-century Oxyrhynchus (PSI x 1112, A.D. 229/30; P. Flor. 4 = W. Chr. 206, A.D. 245; cf. 1468 26), and so is to be reckoned among the officials who exercised what Mertens calls 'le contrôle de la population'. Prior to the third century *κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφαί* at Oxyrhynchus could go to the *γραμματεὺς (μητρο)πόλεως* (PSI 874), to whom applications to register children were also addressed, BGU i 110-11, P. Fay. 28, P. Gen. 33 = W. Chr. 211 (all from Arsinoë—for Oxyrhynchus cf. 2858, A.D. 171). In acting as receiver of these two types of report, therefore, the *laographus* is merely reviving the general competence which the *γραμματεὺς πόλεως* had formerly enjoyed. Secondly, as remarked in the introduction, we know from P. Corn. 18 that less than four months later on Epeiph 30th = 24 July (the day is not quite certain), and still within the same administrative year, Aurelius Diogenes also called Hermias, to whom this application is sent, is the recipient of a parallel application addressed to him as *systates* of Oxyrhynchus for the current year. Unless he is combining two different, though related, posts, which would be most unlikely, the *systates* (who is the official with whom children were regularly registered at this date, PSI 164, P. Corn. 18, P. Fuad I Univ. xiii) is identical with the chairman of the board of *laographi*. Note also that the *systates*, unlike his predecessors at Oxyrhynchus, the *ἀμφοδογραμματεὺς* and *φυλάρχης*, was responsible for collecting *ἐπικεφάλαιον πόλεως*, perhaps a new form of city poll-tax (cf. Mertens, op. cit., pp. 39-41, and 2578-9).

7 πρώτως: for its significance see Mertens, op. cit., p. 54.

8 ἀπογράψασθαι παρὰ σοί: παρὰ σοί is not found in the other applications from Oxyrhynchus; P. Corn. 18. 5 has ἀπογραφῆν[α], the others all ἀναγραφῆναι (on the distinction see Wallace, op. cit., p. 395 n. 10). The use of the middle together with παρὰ σοί is found elsewhere, for example in SB v 7630. 3, registration of an inheritance with the βιβλιοφύλαξ ἐγκτήσεων.

8 seqq. Registration at Oxyrhynchus is normally made by the father alone. Exceptions are 479: grandmother, as owner of the property, acts with the boy's father as her κύριος; PSI 1257: step-father, who also owns the property, and mother act, father stated to be dead; PSI 164: uncle acts, no reason given for father's absence.

12 ἐπ' ἀμφόδου Παμμένους Παραδ(είκου): elsewhere the *amphodon* is mentioned immediately after βούλομαι πρώτως ἀναγραφῆναι, except in P. Fuad Crawford xiii, which is unfortunately incomplete (cf. Mertens's remarks, op. cit., pp. 37-9).

As in other documents of this kind from the reign of Diocletian, the *οικία* is no longer referred to, no doubt because the *κατ' οίκιαν ἀπογραφαί* have ceased.

15-16 *αὐτὸν ταγήναι [εἰ]ς τὴν τῶν ὀμηλικῶν τάξιν*: similarly PSI 164. 15 seqq. and P. Corn. 18. 16 seq. On its significance see Mertens, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-1.

29-31 These lines are written in a rather darker ink than lines 27-8. The hand is very similar and may well be the same. One copy in P. Corn. 18 has at the foot a brief note summarizing the main points of the application (*amphodon*, names of children with ages), which ends (l. 30) *τέκνα Ἀπίω(νος) τοῦ Φιλίππου. πραγμ(ατευτῆς) Νουκεκιης*. We should perhaps expand *πραγμ(ατευτοῦ)* and treat this as a description of an office held by Apion.

29-30 *ἐν Θω[± 6 letters]*: the interpretation depends on the reading in l. 31 where, between *τῆ* and *κώμη*, there is a curve like an **S** on its side, which I have taken as a symbol for *αὐτῆ* ('I believe *ἐν τῆ* (*αὐτῆ*) *κώμη* to be inescapable', Youtie). Therefore *Θω-* must be a village name. Read, e.g., *ἐν Θώ[εβι ἀπογ(ραφόμενος)] διὰ* (Youtie). Instead of *Θώ[εβι Θώ[λθ(ε)ι]* is possible; *ἀπογραφόμενος* was perhaps omitted. The point is of some importance: Arianus is being registered in an *amphodon* of the city and yet his father (and sponsor) apparently belonged to an Oxyrhynchite village.

30-1 *κωμαστοῦ προτομῶ(ν) π...χων*: cf. 1265 9-11 (A.D. 336) *κωμαστοῦ θίων προτομῶν καὶ Νίκης αὐτῶν προα<γ>ούσης*; similar are 1449 2 (A.D. 213-17) and P. Oslo iii 94. 4-5 (Oxyrhynchus; 2nd/3rd cent.), where see the note. In each case the *κωμαστής* is also *ἱερεὺς Διὸς καὶ Ἑρας καὶ τῶν συννάων θεῶν* (*vel sim.*). At 2421 19 *κωμαστοῦ* should no doubt be treated as a common noun. The word at the start of l. 31 is no doubt an adjective qualifying *προτομῶ(ν)*. In 1449 10-11 we read *ξόανον Δήμητρος θ[εᾶς μεγίστ(ης) οὐ ἢ προτομ(ῆ)] Παρίης*, but it is not really possible to read *Παρείγων* here and if it is correctly taken to mean 'of Parian marble' it would hardly be sense.

31 (*αὐτῆ*): see the note to ll. 29-30.

VI. PRIVATE DOCUMENTS

2856. NOTICE TO THE AGORANOMUS

6.4 × 16.5 cm.

A.D. 91/2

This document belongs to a type already well known from Oxyrhynchus, see 48-9, 241-3, 327-40, 349, 581, 1105. All belong in the period A.D. 77-100. The agoranomus receives authorization to proceed with the *καταγραφή* to Didymus of a male slave he has purchased from Thermuthion; of similar content are 327, 332, and 336. Two points of special interest are the title *ἐπιτηρητής* borne by the official sending the notification, and the ratio of bronze to silver in the payment, which differs markedly from the norm (cf. 2843).

5 *Καραπίων ὁ κατὰθεστά-
 μενος ἐπιτηρητής τῷ ἀ-
 γορανόμῳ χαίρειν. κατα-
 γράφον ὄνην Διδύμῳ
 10 Νεοπτολέμου τοῦ Νεο-
 πτολέμου μητρὸς Δη-
 μητρίας τῆς Διδύμου
 τῶν ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πό-
 λεω[ς] δούλου Πλούτ[ου]?
 15 ὡς (ἐτῶν) λβ οὐ ἐπρίατο πα-
 ρὰ Θερμουθίου τῆς Ἀχιλ-
 λέως τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως μη-
 τρὸς Θαισοῦτος τῆς Δημη-
 τρίου τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς αὐ-
 20 τῆς πόλεως, τιμῆς ἀρ-
 γυρίου δραχμῶν ἑνακο-
 κύων χαλκοῦ ταλάντων
 δέκα διςχειλίων. ἔρω(σο).
 Ἔτους ἑνδεκά[α]του
 20 Αὐτοκράτορος [Καίσαρος
 Δο[μ]ι[τιανοῦ
*

'Sarapion, appointed inspector, to the agoranomus greeting.

'Register the sale to Didymus son of Neoptolemus the son of Neoptolemus, mother Demetria the daughter of Didymus, of the people of the city of the Oxyrhynchi, of a slave Plutus (?) about 32 years old, whom he bought from Thermuthion the daughter of Achilles the son of Achilles, mother Thaisous the daughter of Demetrius, of the people of the same city, at a price of nine hundred silver drachmae, ten talents two thousand bronze. Farewell.

'Eleventh year of Emperor Caesar Domitian . . .'

1 *Carapίων*: in 330 authorization comes from Claudius Antonius *ὁ συνετάμε[νος ὑπὸ] Carapίωνος*, but at a rather earlier date (A.D. 77–83 according to the editors' description; they do not say on what this dating is based).

1–2 *ὁ κα{τα}θεστάμενος*: regularly used of appointment to a liturgical office, e.g. BGU iv 1046 (= *W. Chr.* 265), col. iii 7 seqq. *πράκτορες ἀργυ[ρικ]ῶν ὁ μὲν κατασταθ(εῖς) τῷ 5 (ἔτει) ὑ[πὸ] Λοκκείου Ὁφελλιανοῦ τοῦ κρατίστου ἐπιστρατήγου . . . οἱ δὲ κατασταθ(έντες) τῷ αὐτῷ 5 (ἔτει) ὑπὸ Φλαοίου Γρατιλιανοῦ*. Used of *ἐπιτηρητής* in 174, *ὁ καθεστάμενος ἐπιτηρητής καὶ χειριστής καταλοχιμῶν Ὁξυρυγχείτου*, and P. Tebt. ii 287. 9 (= *W. Chr.* 251).

2 *ἐπιτηρητής*: elsewhere the senders of these authorizations have no title. In itself *ἐπιτηρητής* tells us little, but is sufficient to rule out Preisigke's suggestion, *Girouesen*, p. 308, that the notices came from the *βιβλιοθήκη ἐγκτήσεων*, as *ἐπιτηρηταί* are not heard of in this bureau. Of the many sorts of *ἐπιτηρηταί* possible here are (i) *ἐ. ἀγορανομείου*: attested for Oxyrhynchus by 1706 (A.D. 207). Perhaps to be identified with the *ἐπιτηρηταί ἀγορανομίας*, regularly found in the Heracleopolite nome in the second and third centuries A.D. (CPR *passim*), and to be regarded as supervisors of the agoranomi (cf. 1413 10 n.; Oertel, *Die Liturgie*, pp. 239 seqq., takes a somewhat different view). (ii) *ἐ. τραπεζίης*: 1132 8–12 n., Oertel, *op. cit.*, p. 240. Cf. Grenfell and Hunt's original suggestion, 48 1 n., that these authorizations came from the banker through whom the price had been paid. This was based on the correspondence between 49, where *Θέων καὶ Θέων* notify the agoranomus to proceed, and 50, where notice of payment in the same transaction comes from *Θέων καὶ οἱ μέ(τοχοὶ) τρα(πεζίται)*. But in 243 (= *M. Chr.* 182) the same bankers record payment but notification comes from Chaeremon. (iii) *ἐ. ἐγκυκλίου*: this would best suit the prevailing view (Grenfell and Hunt, note to 241 1, *M. Chr.* 182, intro., von Woess, *Urkundenwesen*, pp. 137 seqq., etc.) that the authorizations were sent by the farmers of the tax on sales. We occasionally find this tax-farmer replaced by an *epiteletes*, at Oxyrhynchus: 1523 3–4 (3rd cent.) *ἐπιτηρητ(αῖς) [ἐγκυκ]λίου καὶ κομακτορίας*; elsewhere: SB v 7601 (A.D. 135), WO 1454 (A.D. 179), *W. Chr.* 392, col. i 3 (2nd cent.), O. Bodl. ii 1098 (2nd cent.; restored). This is most likely to be our man. (iv) Meyer, *Juristische Papyri*, intro. to no. 6, follows Partsch in supposing these notifications to come from 'die Beamten des ἐγκυκλείου-Amtes', i.e. we should have to regard the documents just quoted as referring to *ἐπιτηρηταί ἐγκυκλείου*. This seems to me less likely, especially as WO 1454 calls the officials *ἐπιτ. τέλο(ν)ς ἐνκυκ(λίου)*.

2–3 *τῷ ἀγορανόμῳ*: this does not mean that there was only one agoranomus. On the plurality of agoranomi at Oxyrhynchus at this date see Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, p. 476 n. 29.

3–4 *καταγράφον*: on the nature of this *καταγραφή* see Pringsheim, *Greek Law of Sale*, pp. 145 seqq., and Taubenschlag, *Law of Greco-Roman Egypt*², pp. 321 seqq., esp. p. 324 n. 13.

15–18 The amount in silver accords well enough with other slave prices at this period, see Johnson, *Roman Egypt*, pp. 279–81 (ignoring 140 (silver) drachmae in 336, which depends on a restoration erroneously based on a conversion rate of 1 silver drachma: 450 bronze). The sum in bronze is certainly intended as an equivalent of this, not an additional amount. This gives a conversion ratio bronze: silver of approximately 69:1, whereas the regular ratio at this period seems to have been 450:1 (242, intro. (A.D. 77), 243 41–2 (A.D. 79) *τιμὴ ὡς τῶν δ (δραχμῶν) Ἄω* 'at the rate of 1800 dr. of bronze for 4 dr. of silver'; see also West-Johnson, *Currency in Roman Egypt*, pp. 14–15). Bizarre equivalents are also found in SB 7533 (A.D. 160–1; probably from Oxyrhynchus, see the original publication by Westermann, *Aegyptus* xiii (1933), pp. 229–37), 10 talents 3,000 drachmae bronze: 1300 drachmae silver, a ratio of 48.5:1, and in 2843, which relates to the same manumission as 48 (A.D. 86) and gives an amount of 10 talents 3,000 bronze: 800 silver, a ratio of 78.75:1 (see Mr. Michael Crawford's note). It is remarkable that the documents cited here or by him are all concerned with slave prices (10 talents 3,000 drachmae also appears in 581 (A.D. 99), where the description does not give the type of sale or any silver equivalent).

The present papyrus does not quite conform to the above pattern, since the reading in l. 18 is undoubtedly *διςχειλίων*. The alternative to Crawford's view would be that of J. G. Milne, quoted by Westermann, loc. cit., that the papyri record examples of 'an exchange rate determined by the simple question of the weight of the metal'. In favour of this view it may be pointed out that, if the silver amount is the only real one, it is odd that 48-50 should quote the bronze amount only, completely ignoring that in silver.

2857. DRAFT OF A ROMAN WILL

21.5 × 31 cm.

17 May, A.D. 134

This text was studied in Professor Turner's Cambridge class in the academical year 1967-8. We thank him for giving us the chance to publish it; we have benefited from much help, both from him and from Messrs. Parsons and Rea.

The main text is in Greek, but to its left are the right-hand ends of lines of the same will in Latin, doubtless also in draft; they are not aligned with the Greek, and so we publish them separately after the Greek.

1. The Greek Text

The parallels are now numerous; see the introduction to 2348. We need not therefore comment in detail on the relationship between the Greek terminology and the standard Latin formulae of the *testamentum per aes et libram*. The provisions of the will are unexciting; it is worth noting that there are no manumissions, but there may have been fideicommissary manumissions in a codicil. There is, however, some interest in ll. 35-6, if our restoration is correct. Wills of Roman citizens had to be in Latin in Hadrian's time; any Greek version was of no legal effect, merely a record for the testator's convenience. (Some of the surviving documents, though not the present one, are records of the *opening* of a will, e.g. 2348.) But to a Greek-speaking testator the theory that the Greek version of his will was a mere copy (*ἑλληνικὸν ἀντίγραφον*, 2348) cannot have corresponded with the real situation. He must in practice have dictated his testamentary wishes in Greek, so that the Greek version was in practical terms the prior version, and had them translated into Latin by a notary. The present document is the first that clearly admits this reality: 'I have read my will, in consonance with which (*πρὸς ἧν*) I wished my Roman will to be written.' It is probable—see the commentary—that this particular notary was bilingual and *Romani iuris peritus* and wrote both the Greek and the Latin versions, and so he included in the Greek version, though it was only a draft, the Greek equivalents (ll. 27-30) of the technicalities of *mancipatio familiae*—though not the names of *familiae emptor* etc., who had perhaps not yet been chosen—which were probably gibberish to the testator.

Τι[βέ]ριος Κλαύδιος Τιβε[ρί]ου [. .] ελεύθερος Ἀλέξανδρος διαθή-
κην ἔθ[ε]το.

Κ[λα]υδία Θεανούς ἡ συνεξελευθέρα μου πάντων τῶν ὑπαρχόντ(ων)

1 There are traces of ink above the left-hand end of the first line. They may be the top of a very large initial *tau* of the first word 3 ὑπαρχόντ

- μοι ἐμοὶ κληρονόμος ἔστω, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ πάντες ἀποκληρόνομο(ι)
 5 μοι ἔστωσαν· αὐτὴ τε κατάδικος ἔστω διδόναι ποιεῖν πάντα ὅσα ἐν
 ταύτῃ τῇ διαθήκῃ ἐγγεγραμμένα ἔσονται χωρὶς δόλο(ν) πονηρο(ῦ),
 ἀποφηνάσ[θ]ω τε τὴν κληρονομίαν μου ἐν ἡμέραις ρ' ταῖς ἔνγιστα
 α[ῖ]ς γνώσε[ται] δυνήσεται τε μαρτύρ[ε]σθαι ἐαυτὴν μου κληρονόμο(ν)
 [εἶνα]· ἐὰν [δὲ] μὴ ἀποφήνη[τα]· μὴ[ε μ]αρτύρητ(αι), ἀποκληρόνομο(ς) ἔστω.
 10 [...] Τιβ[έρι]ος Κλαύδιος Π[τ]ολέ[μα]ῖος[ς] ὁ ταύτης υἱὸς δευτέρῳ τόπῳ
 [ἐμοὶ κλη]ρο[νό]μος ἔστω, οἱ δ[...]. [πά]ντες ἀποκληρόνομοι ἔσ-
 [τωσα]ν· ο[ὗ]τός τε κατάδικος ἔστω [δι]δόναι ποιεῖν πάντα ὅσα
 [...].[...].ν μου [κ]ληρονόμ[ο]ν μητέρα τε αὐτο[ῦ] διδόναι
 [...]....[... ἀποφηνάσθ]ω τε τὴν [κ]ληρονομίαν μου ἐν [ῆ]μέραις
 15 [. ταῖς ἔ]νγισ[τα] χωρὶς [δό]λου πονη[ρ]οῦ. ὅστις μου κληρονόμος
 [. 3-4]ηται [— c. 11 — π]αρατίθεμαι δῶναι. Τιβερῖω
 [Κλαυ]δίῳ Θεωνᾷ συν[εξελευθ]έρῳ μου δίδωμι καταλίπω (δραχμὰς) ἑκατόν·
 Τιβερῖω Κλαυδίῳ Δημ[η]τρίῳ συνεξελευθέρ[ω] μου δίδωμι κα-
 ταλίπω δραχμὰς ἑκα[τ]τόν· τοῦ σώματός μου [τ]ὴν ἐπιμέλειαν
 20 τῷ κληρονόμῳ μου [κ]αταλείπω, εἰς ὃ δαπανηθῆναι θέλω
 μὴ ἔλαττον δραχμῶ[ν] ἑκατόν. ἐὰν δέ τι μετὰ ταύτην μου
 [τῆ]ν διαθήκην πιν[α]κείει κωδικίλλοις χ[ά]ρτη ἢ ἄλλῳ τινὶ
 [...]· εἰ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ γεγραμμένον ἢ ὑπογεγραμμένον ἐσφρα-
 [γισ]μένον τε καταλε[ί]πω, δι' οὗ δοθῆναί τι ἢ γενέσθαι παρῆ-
 25 χειν τε ἐπιτρέψω κωλύσω τε, ἐν ἕσῳ βέβαιον εἶναι θέλω
 ὡς καὶ ταύτην μου τὴν διαθήκην. ταύτης τῆς διαθήκης
 δόλος πονηρὸς ἀπίτω. οἰκετεῖαν χρήματά τε διαθήκης
 γε[ω]ργμέ[ν]η(ς) ἐπρίατο vac. cηστ(ερτίω) νούμμ(ω) α'
 [ξ]υγοστατοῦντος vac.
 30 [ἀ]ντεμαρτύρατο vac.
 ἢ δι[α]θήκη ἐγένετο ἐν Ὁξυρύχ(ων) πόλ(ει) τῆς Θηβαΐδος πρὸ 15' Καλανδ(ῶν)
 Ἰουνίων Λουκίῳ Ἰουλίῳ Οὐρσῳ Σερουιανῶ τὸ γ' Τίτο Οὐιβίῳ
 Οὐ[ά]ρῳ ὑπάτοις (ἔτους) ιη' αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τραϊανοῦ
 Ἀ[δρι]ανοῦ σε[βα]στοῦ Παχῶν κβ'. (2nd hand) Τι[β]έριος Κλαύδιος
 35 Ἀλέξανδρος ἀνέγνω μου τὴν διαθήκην πρὸς
 [ῆ]ν ἠθέλησα τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν μου γ[ρ]αφῆναι·
 [συμ]φωνί μοι [γ]ὰρ πάντα ὡ[ς] πρ[ό]κ[ι]ται.

4 ἀποκληρόνομ̄ 6 δόλ̄ πονηρ̄ 8 κληρονόμ̄ 9 μαρτύρη̄ ἀποκληρόνομ̄ 10 Perhaps
being with τ[ότε] 11 There is not room for οἱ δὲ λ[οιποὶ πά]ντες. Perhaps the scribe wrote οἱ δὲ λ[οι].^π
[πά]ντες 14 There are slight traces of letters at the beginning, but not legible 15 κληρονόμ̄^δ
16 Trace of a high horizontal and then a vertical at beginning of the line; l. δοῦναι 17 Θεωνῶ
corrected from Θεωνι l. καταλείπω 19 l. καταλείπω (which may have been written as in 20
and 24) 22 l. πωκίσι 23 l. either [γέ]γει or [εἴ]δει 28 σηξ̄ νούμ̄ The figure that
follows looks like φ, but see the commentary, l. 32 31 Ὁξυρύχ̄ π̄^λ Καλαῖ^δ, but see the commentary
34 Τι(ι)βέριος corrected from Τι(ι)βίριος

‘Tiberius Claudius Alexander, freedman of Tiberius, made his will:

Let Claudia Theanous, my fellow-freedwoman, be my heir to all that belongs to me, and let all others be disinherited with respect to me. And let her be under obligation to give and do all that is written in this will without fraud. And let her make entry into my inheritance within the 100 days beginning as soon as she shall be aware and able to testify that she is my heir. But if she does not make entry nor testify let her be disinherited. [Then] let Tiberius Claudius Ptolemaeus, her son, be my heir in the second grade and [let all others] be disinherited, and let him be under obligation to give and do all that [the heir in the first grade, viz.] his mother, [is under obligation to give]. And let him make entry into my inheritance within the *x* days immediately following, without fraud. Whoever [shall be made my heir, I entrust to his faith] to give. To Tiberius Claudius Theonas, my fellow-freedman, I give and leave 100 drachmas. To Tiberius Claudius Demetrius, my fellow-freedman, I give and leave 100 drachmas. The duty of caring for my body I leave to my heir; upon which I wish to be spent not less than 100 drachmas. And if I leave anything, subsequently to this my will, in tablets, codicils, papyrus or any other medium, written or signed and sealed by me, on the basis of which I instruct or forbid anything to be given or happen or be carried out, I wish it to be as valid as this my will. Let fraud be absent from this will. Purchaser of the household and chattels in the making of the will: (blank). For one sesterce. Scale-holder: (blank). Chief witness: (blank).

The testation was done in the city of the Oxyrhynchi in the Thebaid, 16th before the kalends of June, in the consulship of Lucius Julius Ursus Servianus for the third time and Titus Vibius Varus, 18th year of Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pachon 22.’

(Second hand) ‘I, Tiberius Claudius Alexander, have read my will, [in consonance with which] I wished my Roman will to be written. For I agree with it all as set out above.’

1 [.]ελεύθερος: presumably [ἀπ]ελεύθερος, in spite of *ἐξελεύθερα* in 3. *ἐξελεύθερο* seems not to occur in papyri. Cf. the alternations of *ἀπελεύθερος* and *ἐξελεύθερος* in PSI 1104, 2 and 10; PSI 1117, 2 and 4.

2 For *διαθήκην ἔθετο*, see the papyrus quoted by Taubenschlag, *The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt*², p. 215 n. 11.

3 The testator is a freedman, *civis Romanus*. His heir in the first grade is a freedwoman, *civis Romana*, not described as his wife; his heir in the second grade is a *civis Romanus* with the same *praenomen* and *nomen* as himself, not described as his, but as her, son. Presumably she was a concubine. She must have a name of her own besides the *nomen* of her patron; not, therefore, ‘daughter of Theano’.

5 The first word is plainly *μοι*, which might justify emending the supplement [μou] to [μοι] in l. 7 of the will of Longinus Castor (Hunt and Edgar *Sel. Pap.* i, no. 85; FIRA iii, no. 50; David-van Groningen⁴, no. 31).

κατάδικος presumably represents ‘damnas’; elsewhere *ὑπέυθυνος, κατάκριτος*.

6 *ἔονται*: note the plural verb with n. pl. subject.

7 *ἀποφηνάσθω* presumably represents ‘cernito’; elsewhere *προέρχεσθαι*, representing ‘adire’.

13–14 Sense requires something like [τὴν πρώτην] μου κληρονόμον at the opening of 13 and π[ο]ιεῖν ἔδ[ει] at the beginning of 14. It is not clear that the traces can be made to fit the restored words. If the suggestion is right, *τε* (Latin -que) must be treated as defining *κληρονόμον*.

15 One cannot restore *ρ'* as the first letter, because the grace for an heir in the second grade was not necessarily the same as for one in the first grade. The will of Antonius Silvanus, FIRA iii, no. 47, l. 16 might justify *ξ'*.

χωρίς δόλου πονηροῦ appears to be misplaced; cf. its more appropriate position in l. 6. But it is probably similarly misplaced in the Latin version.

15–16 Omission of some words may be suspected. *Τιβεριῶν* at the end of l. 16 must begin a new sentence. The expected formula is of the kind: *ὅστις μου κληρονόμος ἔσται, τῇ πίστι αὐτοῦ ταῦτα πάντα παρακατατίθειμαι*, cf. the will of Longinus Castor, FIRA iii, no. 50, col. 1, l. 15, and also no. 51, l. 7. Turner suggests *ὅστις μου κληρονόμος | π[εποί]ηται, τῇ πίστι αὐτοῦ παρατίθειμαι δῶναι*, but we do not feel confident that we can read this, it seems a shade long for the space, and the sentence remains very peculiar with its perfect tense and no object expressed. The Latin version does not help.

22 The term *πινακίς* has not actually turned up as yet in this formulary. For the word cf. *Gnomon of the Idios Logos* § 8, where it is laid down that additions to a Roman will made *κατὰ πινακίδας Ἑλληνικάς* are not acceptable. By implication *πινακίδες Ῥωμαϊκαί* will be acceptable. Similar formulae in Greek: 2348, ll. 40–1, FIRA iii, no. 50, col. 2, ll. 8–9; in Latin: the text quoted by Taubenschlag², p. 199 n. 35, and the formulary in P. Hamb. 72, ‘si quid ego post hoc testamentum meum nuncupatum codicillis charta membrana aliove quo genere scrip[tum signatumque re]li[quero]’.

κωδικίλλος is not in LSJ or Suppl., but see WB and CGL III 32 33; 387 47.

24–5 Perhaps an error for *παρέλχεσθαι*, cf. ‘dari fieri praestari’.

32 Turner suggests that the penultimate word is not *Τίτο* (for *Τίτω*) but ‘Tito’ (Latin), and that the hand that wrote the Greek text also wrote the Latin text. Other clues point the same way: the fact that the consuls are put in what looks like the Greek dative but sounds like the Latin ablative (cf., however, FIRA iii, no. 50, col. 2, l. 7); the possibility, suggested by Turner, that the last (superscript) letter of l. 31 may be a Latin ‘d’; and the possibility, suggested by Parsons, that the last letter of l. 28, which looks like *φ*, may be a Roman figure ‘P’ emended to *α’*.

On the consular date see R. Hanslik in *RE*, 2te Reihe, viii 1995. L. Julius Ursus Servianus, Hadrian’s brother-in-law, cos. III, was evidently the principal *ordinarius* of the year 134. CIL iii 10281 is held by Degraffi to show that his original colleague (unknown) suffered a *damnatio memoriae*; but whether this was so or not (and Hanslik thinks not) T. Vibius Varus seems to have counted as the other *ordinarius*. The diploma CIL xvi 78 shows T. Haterius Nepos as suffect in place of Servianus on 2 April 134. Our text, of 17 May, is therefore dating the year by the *ordinarii*.

34 The second hand is evidently that of the testator. For his declaration there are numerous parallels, none exact, cf. FIRA iii, no. 47, ll. 48 seqq., 2348, ll. 49–51. For *Ῥωμαϊκῆ διαθήκη* cf. Taubenschlag², p. 215 n. 11.

36 The restoration [*ῆν*], which determines our interpretation, is owed to Professor A. Raubitschek.

2. The Latin Text

We give first a diplomatic transcript. A full restoration, line by line, is too hazardous, in spite of the formulaic character of the text, because of uncertainty about the extent of abbreviation. We therefore append to the transcript a purely speculative version, *exempli gratia*, to suggest a plausible context for the surviving letters, which in the version are printed in italics.

] t̄f̄.
]ũm̄bonoru[.]m̄eo
] . d̄ . ed̄ . faç̄reea
]nt̄ . s̄ . d̄ . m̄[.]cer
 5]ş̄sciet̄poterit̄q̄
]erit̄queex[.]̄.
]vac. t̄.[
]ũdolocom̄[
]eeaomnia
 10]matrem[
]ç̄amindi[
]er̄eş̄er̄ ? vac.
]otheonaç̄[
]m̄ . tī . claud̄[
 15]ç̄ent̄[.]m̄ vac.
] . com[

At about the fifth line below there is a trace (unidentifiable) of the last letter of a line; and at the second line after that there is a trace of the last letter of a line, probably 'q'.

1 There is a trace of one unidentifiable letter in this line standing above 'mb' in l. 2 1, 3, and 4 Note the interpuncts indicating abbreviation (but not systematically) 9 It is possible, but unlikely, that there was another letter at the end of the line

Ti. Claudius Ti. l. Alexander *t(estamentum) f(ecit)*. Claudia Theanous colliberta mea omnium bonorum meorum mihi heres esto, ceteri omnes exheredes sunt. eaque *d(amnas) e(sto) d(are) facere ea omnia quaecumque in hoc testamento scripta erunt s(ine) d(olo) m(alo)*. Cernitoque hereditatem meam in diebus *c(entum)* proximis quibus *sciet poteritq(ue)* testari se mihi heredem esse. Quae nisi testata erit *creveritque*, exheres esto. tum Ti. Claudius Ptolemaeus illius filius *secundo loco* mihi heres esto, ceteri omnes exheredes sunt. isque *d(amnas) e(sto) d(are) facere ea omnia* quaecumque principalem heredem meam *matremque eius* [*d(are) facere oportet*]. cernitoque hereditatem *meam in diebus (x)* proximis quibus *sciet s(ine) d(olo) m(alo)*. quisquis mihi *heres erit* [*illius fidei haec omnia committo*]. Ti. Claudio Theonae colliberto meo do lego drachmas centum. *Ti. Claudio* Demetrio colliberto meo do lego drachmas centum. corporis mei curationem heredi meo *committo*, in quod impendi volo ne minus drachmas centum. si quid autem post hoc testamentum meum [*nuncupatum*] [*tabellis*] codicillis charta aliove quo genere a me scriptum vel subscriptum signatumque reliquero, per quod dari fieri

praestari aliquid iussero vetuero, id haud aliter valere volo atque testamentum meum. huic testamento dolus malus abesto. familiam pecuniamque testamenti faciendi causa emit x HS nummo uno, libripende x, antestatus est x . . . etc.

2858. NOTICE OF BIRTH

8.5 × 22.5 cm.

23 Aug., A.D. 171

Request to a city scribe for the registration of a boy aged four privileged to pay the reduced twelve-drachma poll-tax and a member of the gymnasial class. Birth notices have been listed and studied in detail by O. Montevicchi, *Aeg.* xxvii (1947), pp. 3–24 (supplementary bibliography in P. Petaus, p. 67 n. 1), and Oxyrhynchite declarations in particular by P. Mertens, *Les Services de l'État civil*, pp. 48–65, with extensive bibliography. The only other second-century declaration from Oxyrhynchus yet known is 479 (A.D. 157), with which the present text shares some stylistic features (ll. 13, 20 notes).

Θέωνι γρ(αμματεῖ) πόλ(εως)
 παρὰ Πετερούχου Χαιρήμονος τοῦ Πε-
 [τε]ρούχου μητρὸς Ταυρίμιος καὶ τῆς γυναι-
 κ[ός] Βέριτος τῆς καὶ Δημητρίας Ἀπολ-
 5 λωνίου τοῦ Θεοξένου μητρὸς Βέριτ[ος] ο[ὔ]-
 ρης ὁμογενείας ἀδελφῆς τοῦ ἀ[ν]δρ[ός] Ἀπολ-
 λωνίου μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ ὁμογενείου ἀδελ(φου)
 Ἀγήνορος τοῦ καὶ Θεοξένου καὶ παρὰ Ταύ-
 10 ρίμιος Παυσιρίωνος τοῦ Δημᾶτος μητρὸς Τα-
 αρμύμιος μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ πατρὸς Παυσιρί-
 ωνος Δημᾶτος μητρὸς Εἰρ. ος πάν-
 των ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως. βουλόμεθα
 ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἀναγραφῆναι ἐπὶ τοῦ ὑπάρ-
 χοντος τῆ Ταύρει ἐπ' ἀμφόδου Μητρώου
 15 πρότερον Διογένους Διογένους τοῦ Ἰσχυρίωνος
 τρίτου μέρους οἰκίας τὸν τοῦ Πετερού-
 χου καὶ τῆς Βέριτος υἱὸν Θεόνα
 ὄντα εἰς τὸ ἐνεστὸς ἰα (ἔτος) ἐτῶν τεσσάρων(ν)
 (δωδεκάδραχμον) ἀπὸ γυμνασίου. διὸ ἐπιδίδομεν
 20 τὸ ὑπόμνημα ὡς καθήκει. (ἔτους) ἰα
 Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου
 Ἀντωνίνου Σεβαστοῦ Ἀρμενιοῦ

- Μηδικοῦ Παρθικοῦ Μεγίστου,
 Μεσορῆ λ⁻ (2nd hand) Πετεσοῦχος Χαί-
 25 ρήμωνος ἐπιδέδωκα
 τὴν ἀπογραφὴν τοῦ υἱ-
 οῦ μου Θεώνος ὡς πρόκει-
 ται. (3rd hand) Βέρις ἢ καὶ Δημητρία Ἀπολλ-
 λωνίου συνεπιδέδωκα τὴν
 30 ἀπογραφὴν τοῦ υἱοῦ μου Θεώ-
 νος ὡς πρόκειται. Ἀγήνωρ ὁ καὶ
 Θεώξενος ἐπιγέγραμμαι τῆς
 ὁμογενείας μου ἀδελφῆς κύρι-
 ος καὶ ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς
 35 μὴ εἰδυίης γράμματα. (4th hand) Ταῦρις
 Πausιρίωνος συνεπιδέ-
 δωκα. Πausιρίων Δημᾶ-
 [τ]ρος {c} ἐπιγέγραμ<μ>αι τῆς
 [θ]υγατρὸς μου κύρις καὶ
 40 ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς μὴ
 εἰδυίης γρά[μματ]α.

25 l. Χαίρήμωνος

32 l. Θεόξενος

39 l. κύριος

'To Theon, scribe of the city, from Petesouchus son of Chaeremon son of Petesouchus, his mother being Tausiris, and his wife Beris also called Demetria daughter of Apollonius son of Theoxenus, her mother being Beris, who is full sister of her husband Apollonius, with her guardian her full brother Agenor also called Theoxenus; and from Tauris daughter of Pausirion son of Demas, her mother being Taarmiusis, with her guardian her father Pausirion son of Demas his mother being . . ., all from the city of the Oxyrhynchi. We desire that henceforth Theon the son of Petesouchus and Beris, aged in the present 11th year four years, a payer of the twelve drachmae and member of the gymnasial class, be registered in the third share of a house owned by Tauris in the Metroon quarter and formerly belonging to Diogenes son of Diogenes son of Ischyriion. We accordingly present this application as is fitting. Year 11 of Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus Armeniacus Medicus Parthicus Maximus, Mesore 30.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Petesouchus son of Chaeremon, have presented the registration of my son Theon as aforesaid.'

(3rd hand) 'I, Beris also called Demetria daughter of Apollonius, have joined in presenting the registration of my son Theon as aforesaid. I, Agenor also called Theoxenus, am registered guardian of my full sister and I have written on her behalf, as she is illiterate.'

(4th hand) 'I, Tauris daughter of Pausirion, have joined in presenting the registration. I, Pausirion son of Demas, am registered guardian of my daughter and I have written on her behalf, as she is illiterate.'

1 γρ(αμματεῖ) πόλ(εως) : the first occurrence of this official as the recipient of birth declarations at Oxyrhynchus, as that duty had been transferred to the amphodogrammateus by the time of the next

earliest published text (1267, A.D. 209). The only earlier Oxyrhynchite declaration (479, A.D. 157) lacks an addressee. See Mertens, pp. 2-3, 51-2 with note 14.

3-4 καὶ τῆς γυναικ[ός]: the mother has not appeared as a declarant in the previously published Oxyrhynchite texts; cf. Montevicchi, pp. 12-13.

13 For the absence of πρώτως after βουλόμεθα in the formula cf. 479.

20 An oath is usually found before the date in these texts, but cf. 479 and 1552; Mertens, p. 61.

38 [τ]οc {c}: not τοc.

2859. CONTRACT OF SUBSTITUTION AS DEKANOS

17.3 × 25.5 cm.

10 Nov., A.D. 301

Aurelius Sarapammon hires Aurelius Paulus as his substitute in the office of dekanos. Etymologically a dekanos should be a leader of a group of ten (cf. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, s.v.), but the evidence does not confirm this. Of forty-eight ostraka in O. Tait and four in O. Bruss.-Berl. where the number can be determined, there were three groups of four, eight of five, four of seven, two of eight, twenty-five of ten, four of eleven, and six of twelve. The term obviously had a more generalized use and meant a leader of a small group (one assumes of liturgists) of varying functions (cf. Oertel, *Die Liturgie*, p. 268 on δεκανός φυλάκων; SB 4907, dekanos connected with shipping; the ostraca show dekanoi of unspecified groups). At this time the *ράβδουχία* was a liturgy (see N. Lewis, *Inventory of compulsory services*, s.v.). The accurate designation of the office here and in 1626 is δεκανός *ράβδούχων*. Further light on the duties of dekanoi in general is given by one of the two ungrammatical drafts of business correspondence on the verso of this document, a receipt for chaff delivered through two dekanoi: ¹⁴ Θέων Διονυσωδώρου (*sic*) ἀδελφῶ | χαίρειν | ἐπεστάλην διὰ κτηνῶν ξ | τοῦ Ὀξυρυγχείτου δι' Ἰσιδώρου | καὶ Πατερμ[ο]υθίου δεκανῶ(ν) | ἀχύρου κτλ.

Ἀυρήλιοι Σαραπ[ά]μμων Ἡρᾶτος μη(τρὸς) Ἰσιδώρας αἰρεθεῖς δεκανὸς καὶ
Πα[ῦ]λος Ὠρίωνος μη(τρὸς) Ἐλένης ἀμφότεροι ἀπὸ τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ λαμ(προ-
τάτης)

Ὀξυρυγχειτῶν πόλεως μετ' ἐγγύου μου[νή]ς καὶ ἐμφανίας τῆς ἐξῆς
χρίας Ἀυρηλίου Ὠρίωνος Ὠρίωνος ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως ἀλλήλοισ
5 χαίρειν. ὁμολογοῦμεν ἐγὼ μὲν ὁ Παῦλος ἀντὶ σοῦ τοῦ Σαραπάμμωνος
κατελθεῖν ἔνθα ἐὰν κελευθῶ μετὰ τῶν παραδιδόμενων μοι ὀνι-
κῶν καὶ καμηλικῶν ζώων καὶ *ράβδούχων* καὶ τὴν χώραν σου τοῦ
δεκανοῦ ὑποστῆναι καὶ ἀποπληρῶσαι καὶ παραμῖναί με πρὸς τῷ
δημοσίῳ ἐπιτάγματι ἔστ' ἂν ἀπολυθῶ ἀποπληρῶν ἅπαντα
10 τὰ ἐπιταττόμενά μοι εἰς τὸ μηδεμίαν μέμψειν ἢ ἐτίαν ἐπακολου-
θῆσαι. λήμφομαι δὲ ὑπὲρ *καλαρίων* ἡμερησίως ἀπὸ τῆς ἐξῆς ἡμέρας
ἥτις ἔστιν Ἄθῦρ ιε' ἔστ' ἂν παραγένωμαι ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς διακοσίας
πεντήκοντα. αὐτόθι δὲ ὁμολογῶ ἐσχηκέναι ὑπὲρ μηνῶν δύο

ἀργυρίου τάλαντα δύο καὶ δραχμὰς τρισευελίας. εἰ δὲ παραγένωμαι
 15 ἐν[τ]ὸς τῆς διμήνου τὰ φανησόμενα παρ' ἐμοὶ ἀργύρια ἀποκαταστή-
 σω. εἰ . . . στάντος δὲ τῶν μηνῶν δύο ἐμοῦ προσυδρεύοντος
 τῇ δημοσίᾳ χρεῖα χορηγήσεις μοι καλάρια ἔστ' ἂν παραγένωμαι.
 καὶ ἀπαρενόχλητον καὶ [[ἀζήμιον]] καὶ ἄκυλλον παρασχεῖν σε
 τὸν [C]α[ρ]απάμμωνα σωματικῶς περὶ πάντων ἀπαξᾶπλῶς
 20 τῶν διαφερόντων τῇ χρεῖᾳ τοῦ δεκανοῦ. ἐγὼ δὲ ὁ Σαραπάμμων{ος}
 εὐδοκίῳ ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ ἀποδώσει τὰ φανησόμενα καλάρια ἀκυ-
 λάντως. εἰ δὲ ζήτησὶς τις γένηται καθ' ὄντινα οὖν τρόπον περὶ ε.
 [.]ντ. . . ω. . . ρηγον. . . οἱς δεκανοῖς ἐμὲ τὸν Σαραπάμμωνα
 ἀπο. [.]κα]τὰ τὸ ἐπίβαλλον μοι μέρος καὶ ἀπαρενόχλητόν
 25 σε Παῦλον εἶναι περὶ τούτου. κύρια τὰ γράμματα δις καὶ γραφέντα
 πρὸς τὸ ἑκάτερον[ο]ν ἔχειν μοναχόν. <καὶ> ἀλλήλ[ο]ν ἐπερωτήσαντ(ε)ς ἀλλήλοισι
 ὠμολογήσαμεν. (ἔτους) ἡ' καὶ (ἔτους) ιζ' τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν
 Δ[ι]οκλητιαν[οῦ] καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν καὶ (ἔτους) ι' τῶν κυρίων
 [ἡ]μ[ῶν] Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων
 30 καισάρων[ο]ν Ἄθῳρ ἰδ' ὑπα[τ]είας] Τιτιαν[οῦ] καὶ Νεπωτιαν[οῦ]
 (2nd hand) Αὐρήλιος Σαραπάμ[μ]ων[ο]ν εὐδοκῶ πάσι τοῖ[σ]ι π[ρ]οκειμένοις καὶ ἀποδώ-
 σω τὰ φανησόμενα καλάρ[ι]α ὡς πρόκειται καὶ ἐπερωτηθεῖς
 ὠμολόγησα.

1 μῆ' ἰσιδωρασ εἰ in αιρεθεις corrected from ι? 2 μῆ', λαμψ 3 l. ἐμφανείας
 4 l. χρεῖας 6 κ in κελευσθω corrected from λο 8 ὑποστηναι 1. παραμεῖναι, second α in παραμῖναι
 corrected from a large ε 10 επιτατ'τομενα second μ in μηδεμιαν corrected from ν? 1. μέμψιν,
 αἰτίαν 11 ὑπερ η in ημερας corrected from χ? 13 ὑπερ 14 l. -χιλίαι 15 π in παρ
 corrected from α? 16 προσυδρευοντος = προσεδρευοντος 17 l. χορηγήσεις 18 ον in αζημιον
 corrected from οἱς 21 l. εὐδοκίῳ, ἀποδώσειν, ἀκοι- 26 ἐπερωτησαντ, ω corrected from α?
 30 δ in ἰδ' corrected from α 31 in the margin a high hook opening left, possibly the ornamental
 beginning of the paragraphos ρη in αυρηλιος is smeared

'The Aurelii Sarapammon, son of Heras and Isidora, chosen dekanos, and Paulus, son of Horion and Helena, both from the illustrious and most illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites with Aurelius Horion son of Horion of the same city as surety for their presence and appearance for the following service, to each other greetings. We agree, I, Paulus, on the one hand, to go instead of you Sarapammon wherever I may be commanded, with the asses and camels and wand-bearers handed over to me and to undertake and fulfil the position of you the dekanos and (I agree) that I shall remain at the public command until I be released fulfilling all the orders given me so that no blame or guilt result. I shall receive as daily wages from tomorrow which is 15 Hathyr until I return 250 silver drachmas. I agree that I have received on the spot two talents 3,000 silver drachmas for two months. If I return within the two months I shall return the silver found to remain in my possession. If I [am on the job] two months and continue in the public service, you will pay me until I return and (I agree) that I shall make you Sarapammon free of any corporal harm and annoyance in all matters in general pertaining to the service of dekanos. I, Sarapammon, on the other hand, (agree) to approve on these conditions and to pay the wages found to have accrued in full. If any inquiry in any way whatsoever arises about(?) . . . (to) the

dekanoi, I, Sarapammon (shall . . .) in accordance with the share falling on me and (I agree) that you, Paulus, will be free from trouble in this matter. This contract written in duplicate for each party to have a copy is valid. Each having questioned the other we agreed with each other. Years 18 and 17 of our lords Diocletian and Maximian Augusti and year 10 of our lords Constantius and Maximian the most illustrious Caesars 14 Hathyr, in the consulship of Titian and Nepotian. I, Aurelius Sarapammon, agree to all the aforesaid and I shall pay the wages found to have accrued as aforesaid and in answer to the official question I agreed.⁷

1 *Αὐρήλιος Σαραπάμμων*: in 1252 26 (A.D. 288–95) a Sarapammon with no other description is designated gymnasiarch. In 1643 (A.D. 298) an athlete *Αὐρήλιος Σαραπάμμων ὁ καὶ Δίδυμος* appoints a representative.

2 *Παῦλος*: no one who can be identified with this man is mentioned in the documents.

12 In PSI 1037 a substitute for a *ῥαβδοῦχος* receives in this same year 400 drachmas per day.

16 *ἐπιστάντος*: either *ἐπι-* or *ἐν-* could fit the traces. Provision is made here for Paulus to receive pay at the rate of 250 drachmai per day if detained beyond the two months for which he has been paid. The same kind of provision is made in P. Cair. Isidor. 81, 22–5: *ἐὰν δὲ καὶ κοὶ ὁ Πωλίων πλείω τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐξήκοντα | παρακατασκευῶ (l. -cχεθῶ) ἐκίται (l. ἐκεῖσε) ἡμέρας ἐν τῷ αὐ[τ]ῷ T[ρ]αι[α]νῷ ποτ[αμ]ῷ | λήμφομαι παρὰ τοῦ Ἰσιδώρου ὑπὲρ μισθοῦ κ[αθ]’ ἐκάς]τη[ν] ἡ]μέρα(ν) | ἀργυρίου δραχμάς διακοσίας. It seems possible therefore that the sentence ran *ἐπιστάντος . . . ἐμοῦ <καὶ> προσεδρεύοντος*, ‘If I am on the job the two months and continue . . .’. *ἐφίσταται* is found in this sense, and the genitive case *τῶν δύο μηνῶν* may have been used by analogy with *τῆς διμήνου* above. At 26 similarly *καὶ* must be added before *ἀλλήλους*. Since the meaning could have been expressed more clearly a doubt remains.*

18 The reason for the deletion of *ἀζήμων* is obscure. The phrase is common enough, e.g. 1626 19–20.

22 What the context calls for here is a guarantee by Sarapammon that he will be financially responsible for damages awarded in the event of a *ζήτησις*. A statement of this type is found in P. Cair. Isidor. 94, 11–16 (A.D. 312): *ἐπὰν δὲ ἐν καιρῷ τινι ὄχλησιν ἢ τινα ζήτησιν περὶ τοῦ π[ρ]οκειμένου τούτου ἀργυρίου ὑπό τινος πάθης ἐγὼ αὐτὸς ὁ Σαραπίων ἀποστήσω παραχρήμα τοῖς ἰδίοις μου δαπανήμασι πρὸς τὸ κατὰ πάντα τρόπον τὸ ἀσφαλῆ[ς] καὶ ἀ[μ]ε[ρ]ιμνόν κοὶ ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ ὑπαρχθῆναι. In l. 22 the letters after *περί* can be read *εχ*, *εν*, or *εσ*, but none of these combinations leads anywhere. Beyond l. 22 the details are unclear. After *περί* one expects something like ‘your substituting for me’ or ‘your actions in office’ or possibly, in view of what follows, ‘your responsibility to the other dekanoi’. In l. 23 it is possible to read either *αλλοις δεκανοῖς* (probably *ἄλλοις δεκανοῖς*), or *..τοῖς δεκανοῖς*. The choice is made more difficult by the traces before *..οις*; one could force them to yield *τοις* instead of *χοι*; however, the form of *tau* is not paralleled elsewhere in this piece and *ις* actually looks like a damaged *ν*. If *τοῖς* cannot be read before *ἄλλοις* then one hesitates to read *ἄλλοις*. Because *ἐὰν δέ* in l. 22 calls for some form of apodosis, and the logical place for it to begin is in line 23 with *ἐμὲ τὸν Σαραπάμμωνα*, the beginning of line 23 should contain a verb or adjective to govern *δεκανοῖς*. A verb, parallel to *εἶναι* in line 25, should come at the beginning of line 24. *ἀποστήσει* will not fit because *τοῖς ἰδίοις μου δαπανήμασι* or something similar is definitely wanting. One expects some sort of guarantee to the substitute that he will not be held financially responsible for possible losses in office. A contract of substitution is a private agreement and any financial responsibility is still that of the original appointee, see P. Leit. 13 introduction and ll. 20–2 n.*

30 *Ἀθὺρ ἰδ’*: the consuls’ names were added as an afterthought.

VII. PRIVATE LETTERS

2860. LETTER FROM HERAKLAMMON TO KALLISTOS

13.1 × 11.9 cm.

Second century

An allusive private and possibly business letter from Heraklammon to Kallistos, who appear to have some dealings with each other about slaves. The reference to acrobats in 16 could imply that the boys referred to in 10 and 13 may also have been some type of entertainers. The letter is noteworthy for two items of vocabulary: ἡ γράϊα in 11, and πετευριστής in 16. The hand is a small, plain, carefully formed one resembling a round book-hand. The cursive forms are few, notably ξ and υ. The over-all style and many of the letter forms are similar to P. Fouad 32, A.D. 174, written faster than this letter.

Ἡρακλάμμων Καλλίστῳ τῷ
 τιμωτάτῳ τέκνῳ χαίρειν.
 ἤδη σοι καὶ ἄλλας ἐπιστολάς ἔπεμψα
 ἱκανὰς καὶ σύ μοι οὐκέτι ἀντέγραψας.
 5 καλῶς οὖν ποήσεις [[καλωσουνπ]] ὁπότεν
 πληρώσης τὴν συγγραφὴν ἢ ὥς δήποτε
 γενέσθαι πρὸς ἐμὲ καθὼς μοι ἔγραψας.
 ἡγοῦμαι γὰρ ὅτι ἄμεινον ἡμᾶς ἀνέχε-
 σθαι ἀλλήλων ἢ ξένων ὡς καὶ πρότερον
 10 ἔγραψά σοι περὶ παιδίων εἴαν που ἐπινοῆς.
 καὶ γὰρ ἡ γρῆα ἔπεμψέ μοι ἀπὸ Ἀλεξαν-
 δρείας ὅτι ἂν σχῆς Κάλλιστον ἔχεις
 τὰ παιδιά. εἴαν δὲ παραγέ[νῃ] οὐδὲν ἔσται
 μέσον ἡμῶν τὸ δυνάμεν[ον] ἐμὲ ἢ σὲ λυ-
 15 πῆσαι. ἐφρόντισα δὲ καὶ υ[ε]ανίσκων
 πετευριστῶν τριῶν. ταχέως οὖν μοι
 γράψον ἵνα εὐψυχῶ [... ἄσπ]α-
 σα[ι] τὴν ἀγαθὴν Φλωρε[ν]τ[ίαν σου?] καὶ
 [τὰ] τέκνα σου καὶ Κάνωπ[ον]. ἀσπάζε[ταί]
 20 σε Κύριλλα καὶ τὰ κοράζια. [
 (2nd hand) ἐρρω[σθα]ί σε εὐχομαι

Verso (3rd hand) (ἀπόδος) [Κ]αλλίστῳ > < ἀπὸ Ἡρακλάμμων(ος)

4 ἱκανας

11 l. γράϊα

16 πετευριστῶν J. Rea

17 ἵνα

18 l. Φλωρε[ν]τ[ίαν]

'Heraklammon to Kallistos his most honoured child, greetings. I have already sent you other letters in sufficient number as well as this and you have not yet replied. Be so good, whenever you fulfil the contract or whensoever you can, to come to me as you wrote you would. For I consider that it is better that we be content with each other rather than deal with strangers as I wrote you before about the boys, if you happen to remember. Indeed the old lady wrote me from Alexandria, "If you have Kallistos, you have the boys." If you come here there will be nothing between us which can sadden you or me. I thought about three young acrobats as well. Write soon so I may be in good spirits. . . . Greet your(?) dear Florentia and your children and Kanopos. Kyrilla and the girls send their greetings.'

(2nd hand) 'I pray that you are well.'

Verso: (3rd hand) 'Deliver to Kallistos from Heraklammon.'

2 τιμωτάτω τέκνω: I have not been able to find a parallel for this effusive greeting. It does not seem to be equal to τιμώτατος κύριος or τιμώτατος ἀδελφός.

5-6 καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις usually takes a participial construction, but is occasionally found with present or aorist infinitives and less often with finite verbs, cf. Mayser ii 1, 173-4; Steen, *Classica et Mediaevalia* i (1938), pp. 141-2; cf. also SB 7180, 13-18, according to the editors. Either superscript ω is a correction of the text and ὡς δήποτε alone is to be read, or ω is an addition and ἦ ὡς δήποτε is to be read. If the first is correct ὡς is used to introduce a result clause to be translated, 'You will do well when you complete the contract so that you may finally come to me.' But according to Mayser, ii 1, 297 ὡς is scarcely ever used with an infinitive. Also against this is the fact that η is not explicitly deleted. If the second is correct, the context indicates that ὡς δήποτε is an alternative to ὅποτε κτλ. and is therefore used adverbially and temporally. δήποτε is often used to give a strong indefinite connotation, e.g. Herod. vii 16 ὁ τι δήκοτε ἐπί and i 157 ὅσην δήκοτε ἔχων μοῖραν.

8 At the beginning ἡγοῦμαι is vertically cramped and partially written in the gap between the recto fibres, which indicates a fault in the manufacture of the papyrus. ἀνέχεσθαι with the genitive is paralleled by PSI 1241 = SB 7562, A.D. 159, lines 12-15: ἐρωτηθέντες | ὡς καὶ [κα]τ' ὅψιν ἡμᾶς | ἡρώτητα, ἀνέχεσθαι ἀλλήλων. Vitelli, *SIFC* n.s. ix (1932), p. 336 rendered the verb as 'tolerate', 'endure', 'be content with'. The reading is certain: not ἀντέχεσθαι.

11 ἡ γρᾶ: the reading is certain. If all possible misspellings are tried, the only known word to result is ἡ γράϊα, 'old woman', which is otherwise found only in poetry (Homer, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and later Theocritus). However, it apparently was in use in popular speech: P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* (Paris, 1968), s.v. γραῦς notes that it survives in Modern Greek.

16 πετευριστής is, according to *LSJ*, found only in a transliterated Latin form *petaurista* and cited only from Pliny, *HN* xi 115, where it is used metaphorically of fleas, and from Varro, quoted by Nonius p. 70 L.

18 Φλωρεντία is not in *NB*, but Φλωρέντιος is.

20 κοράκια are young girls. The noun seems to indicate age rather than position: in BGU 887, 3 (A.D. 151) a κοράκιον is purchased, but in P. Oslo 140 (second century A.D.) it is used to describe a free girl. In the New Testament κοράκιον is used of Salome (Matt. 14: 11, Mark 6: 22 and 28) and the daughter of an ἄρχων (Matt. 9: 24-6). In Mark 5: 40-2, the same story, κοράκιον is synonymous with παιδίον and she is described as twelve years old. The context in this letter indicates that here it is a synonym of τέκνα; though in P. Lond. ii 311, pp. 154-5, A.D. 165 from Arsinoe four κοράκια are hired with three gymnasts for a festival.

Verso: Α; this sign at the beginning of the address is very damaged, but in this context it seems most probable that it is an abbreviation for ἀπόδος.

2861. LETTER FROM APOLLONIUS

6.8 × 14.5 cm.

Second century

Apollonius, who is doubtless a tax-collector, writes an urgent letter to Dioscurides instructing him to speed up the collection from the names on his list. Though describing

himself as φίλος in the address, Apollonius writes in the tone of a superior to a subordinate. The script is markedly similar to 2594 = Plate vii in E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri*.

Ἀπολλώνιος Διοσκουρίδ(η)
 τῷ φιλάτῳ χαίρειν.
 Ὡς κατ' ὄψιν σε ἠρώτη-
 ca ἐ[κ]τενωσ τὴν ἀπ[αί-
 5 τησι]ν [πο]ιήσασθαι τῶν
 παρὰ σοὶ ὀνομάτων καὶ
 νῦν σε ἐρωτῶ ἐπὶ πλέ-
 ον προσελθεῖν τῇ ἀπαι-
 τήσει ἐξαιρέτως καὶ τῶν
 10 στερεῶν ὀνομάτων,
 ἐπεὶ πάντα ἀνηγκάσθη-
 μεν βαλεῖν ἐπὶ τράπεζαν.
 εὔρον καὶ τὸν Πολυδᾶν[[α]]
 μηδὲν ἀπητηκότα
 15 καὶ ἀναγκαίως ἐνθάδε
 μεμένηκα.
 ἔρρωσο.

Verso

Διοσ[κουρίδ]η παρὰ Ἀπολλωνίου φίλου.

11 l. ἠναγκάσθημεν

'Apollonius to his very dear friend Dioscurides greeting.

'As I asked you when I saw you to proceed vigorously with the collection of the accounts on your list, so now I ask you still more to apply yourself to the collection with urgency of the substantial (?) accounts, since we have been compelled to pay everything into the bank. I have found too that Polydas has collected nothing and I have remained here of necessity. Farewell.'

(Address) 'To Dioscurides from Apollonius his friend.'

4 ἐ[κ]τενωσ: cf. 2228 40 πρόνοιαν ποιήσῃ τοῦ ἐκτενωσ αὐτὰ τρέφεσθαι, P. Beatty Panop. 1, 376 πρὸς τὸ ἐκτε[ν]ωσ τῆ]ν τοῦ ἄρτου εὐθeneίαν τοῖς γενναιοτάτοις στρατιώταις γενέσθαι. Possible also is ἐ[ὑ]πόγως, cf. BGU iv 1047, col. iii 14 seq. (with *Berichtigungsliste I*) ἐξέ[λ]ευσας τῇ ἀπαιτήσει τῶν κ[ανό]νων εὐτονώ[τερον] ἔτι ἐξετάσαι.

9-10 τῶν στερεῶν ὀνομάτων: a unique expression, which should mean either 'the hard cases', i.e. those from whom it is difficult to extract taxes, cf. P. Leit. 13, where πράκτορες ciτικῶν agree to joint responsibility for τοῦ μέ]ρους τῶν ἀπόρων καὶ δ[υ]σειπρα[χ]ησομένων (ll. 20 seq.), or 'the solid (substantial) accounts', those who have the most tax to pay. No synonym for the latter meaning suggests itself, but for the former several possibilities may be compared: (i) ἄπορα ὀνόματα (though στερεὰ ὀνόματα can hardly be a technical term); (ii) P. Lond. iii 1249, 4-5 ἐπιζητοῦντί σοι τίν[ες] εἴησαν γεωργοὶ τῶν ἀευστάτων ὀνομάτων; (iii) PSI xii 1260, 13 seqq. οὐ παραδ[έ]δοται τε ἡ γῆ ἀνυπάρκτοις ὀνόμ[ασι] τοῖς μ[η] κεκτημέν[ο]ις γῆν ἐν τ[ῷ] κλή[ρ]ῳ; (iv) the use of ἀσθένεια of financial weakness, cf. Hombert-Préaux

Chr. d'Ég. xxiii (1937), pp. 261–2. Elsewhere in the papyri *στερεός* almost invariably qualifies *πυρός* with the meaning 'hard', 'ripe', see 1639 8 n. More relevant here perhaps are P. Harr. 135, 3 (5th cent.), where a *defensor* is addressed as τῆι εἰς στερωτῶτη[τι], and 2680 10 seq., ἐὰν αἱ ὄδοι στερωθῶσι.

11–12 For *practores*, etc., paying taxes into banks see Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt*, p. 473 n. 10. Here, however, the collectors were apparently compelled (or 'instructed'; for ἀναγκάζω in a weakened sense see 2563 21–2 n.) to pay in all the tax due *before* they had collected it from the tax-payers.

13 Πολυδᾶν[α]: Πολυδᾶνα seems to have been written at first and then an attempt made to scratch out the final α. Πολυδᾶς is an uncommon name, elsewhere only in WO 1128, P. Med. 49, 9, and SB v 7742, 1.

15–16 In 298 18 seq. a tax-collector states μεμένηκα ἐν τῷ Δη[τοπολείτη] . . . ἡμέρ]α λ, μόγι (δραχμάς) χ ἀπαιτήσας.

2862. LETTER FROM LUCILLIANUS

11.5 × 6.8 cm.

Third century

This brief, cryptic note, in good Greek, is written across the fibres in a fairly broad, neat, right-sloping script, with few cursive tendencies. It is a good, though unpretentious, hand, similar to C. H. Roberts, *Greek Literary Hands*, Plate 22d (c. A.D. 260). The greeting has been added in a cruder, more pointed script, each letter being separately made. There are traces of six horizontal and perhaps two vertical folds.

Λουκιλλιανὸς Διδύμῳ καὶ Ἡρακλείδῃ

τοῖς τιμιωτάτοις χαίρειν.

Τὸ πρᾶγμα περὶ οὗ μοι ἐπεστείλατε συν-
επέρινα, μηδὲν εἰς τοῦτο ἀναλώσας, ἀλλὰ

5 τὸ πρᾶγμα αἰτησάμενος. μαρτυρῆσει δὲ ὑ-
μεῖν καὶ ὁ ὑφ' ὑμῶν διαπεμφθεὶς ὅτι
οὐχ ὤκνησα. προσαγορεύετε τὴν ἀ-
γαθὴν Πτολεμαῖδα καὶ τὰ τέκνα ὑμῶν.

(2nd hand) μεθ' ὧν ἐρρωσθαι ὑμᾶς θεοῖς πᾶσι εὐχομαι.

Verso

10 (1st hand?) Διδύμῳ ἐξηγητ() . . . π(αρά) Λουκιλλιανοῦ.

5–6 l. ὑμῖν ὕ, pap. 7 l. οὐκ

'Lucillianus to the most esteemed Didymus and Heraclides greeting.

'I have accomplished the thing about which you gave me instructions. I spent nothing on this, I merely asked for the thing. The man whom you sent will also vouch to you that there was no shirking on my part. Greet the good Ptolcmias and your children. (Second hand) I pray to all the gods that you and they may be in good health.'

(Address) 'To Didymus, former exegete (?), from Lucillianus.'

1 Λουκιλλιανός: an uncommon name, with an aristocratic ring. A Lucillianus is *bibliophylax* at Oxyrhynchus in PSI xii 1255 (third cent.).

3–4 συνεπέρινα: new to the papyri.

4-5 In view of δέ after μαρτυρήσει we must take ἀλλὰ τὸ πρᾶγμα αἰτητάμενος with what precedes. Precisely what it means is obscure, but this may well be Lucillianus' intention, cf. the use of the vague τὸ πρᾶγμα.

10 Διδύμω ἐξηγητ(): the reading is almost certain. The title may be expanded ἐξηγητ(ῆ) or ἐξηγητ(εύσαντι). P. RyI. iv 599 (A.D. 226) is addressed to Αὐρηλίω Διδύμω τῷ καὶ Διοσκουρίδῃ ἐξηγητεύσαντι βουλ(ευτῆ) διέποντι καὶ τὰ στέμματα of Oxyrhynchus (cf. 1498 11, later third century).

There is ink between ἐξηγητ and π', probably part of the customary series of XXs.

VIII. MINOR DOCUMENTS

2863–2872. SITOLOGI DOCUMENTS

Eight orders for payment in grain, and two notices of credit for payments in grain. Both types of document are well represented in papyri; for brief discussion and bibliography, see 2588–2591 introd.

2863. Order for payment in grain. 13·1 × 16 cm. 22 August, A.D. 123.

¹ Λεοντᾶς Διδύμου Δι[ο]γένει σιτολόγῳ ἀπηλ(ιώτου) ² τοπ(αρχίας) Φοβόου τόπων χαίρειν. διάστειλον ἀφ' οὗ μου ³ ἔχεις ἐν θέματι (πυροῦ) γενήματος τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ⁴ ζ (ἔτους) Ἀδριανοῦ καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου ἀρτάβας ἑκατὸν ⁵ τριάκοντα, (γίνονται) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) ρλ Καρᾶ καὶ Θεογένει ἀμφοτέροις ⁶ Θεογένους. (ἔτους) ζ̄ αὐτοκράτορος καίσαρος Τραιανοῦ ⁷ Ἀδριανοῦ σεβαστοῦ Μεσορῆ κθ.

2 l. διάστειλον 3 l. ἐνεστῶτος

'Leontas son of Didymus to Diogenes, sitologus of the eastern toparchy, Phoboou district, greetings. Transfer to Saras and Theogenes, both sons of Theogenes, one hundred and thirty artabas, equal 130 art. of wheat, from the amount which you hold in deposit for me from the wheat-crop of the present 7th year of Hadrian Caesar the lord. 7th year of the Emperor Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus, Mesore 29.'

2864. Order for payment in grain. 12·7 × 6·6 cm. 26 August, A.D. 123.

¹ Θέων Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Σαραπίωνος μητρὸς Ἀλίνης Φαύστῳ ² τῷ καὶ Ἀμφίῳ σιτολ(όγῳ) ἀπηλ(ιώτου) τοπαρχ(ίας) Πακέρκη τόπ(ων) χαίρειν. ³ διάστειλον ἀφ' ὧν ἔχεις μου ἐν θέματι (πυροῦ) γενήμ(ατος) ζ (ἔτους) Ἀδριανοῦ ⁴ τοῦ κυρίου Ἀρσινόη Θέωνος ἀρτάβ(ας) δέκα ἕξ τέταρτον χοί(νικας) ἕξ, ⁵ (γίνονται) (ἀρτ.) ιςδ χ(οίνικες) 5. ἔτους ἐβδόμου αὐτοκράτορος καίσαρος Τραιανοῦ ⁶ Ἀδριανοῦ σεβαστοῦ ἐπαγο(μένων) γ̄.

'Theon son of Heracleides and Aline and grandson of Sarapion to Faustus also called Amphion, sitologus of the eastern toparchy, Pakerke district, greetings. Transfer to Arsinoe daughter of Theon sixteen and one quarter artabas, six choenices, equal 16¼ art. 6 choen., from those which you hold in deposit for me from the wheat-crop of the 7th year of Hadrian the lord. Seventh year of the Emperor Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus, 3rd epagomenal day.'

¹ Faustus, also called Amphion, appears again in 516 1–2.

⁴ Arsinoe, daughter of Theon, is also the recipient of grain in P. Lips. 116, 5.

2865. Order for payment in grain. 12·7 × 10·9 cm. c. A.D. 122/3.

¹ Ἡρᾶς γραμματεὺς Ἰουλίου Θέωνος ² γυμνασιάρχου σιτολόγοις Φοβόου ³ τόπων χαίρειν. διαστείλατε ἀπὸ θέματος τοῦ Ἰουλίου Θέωνος πυροῦ γενήματος ἐβδόμου ἔτους Ἀδριανοῦ καίσαρος ⁶ [τοῦ κυρίου] Πτολεμαίῳ Σαραπίωνος ⁷ [(c. 13 letters) ἀρτά]βας ἑξακοσίας, ⁸ [(γίνονται) (ἀρτ.) χ. (ἔτους) .. αὐτοκράτορ]ος καίσαρος

· · · · ·

'Heras, secretary of Julius Theon, gymnasiarch, to the sitologi of Phoboou district, greetings. Transfer to Ptolemaeus son of Sarapion six-hundred artabas, equal 600 art., from the deposit of Julius Theon from the wheat-crop of the seventh year of Hadrian Caesar the lord. Year . . . of the Emperor Caesar . . .'

1 Julius Theon (cf. 2867) was probably a descendant of Gaius Julius Theon, an archiereus and hypomnematographus in the time of Augustus; see Youtie, *Zeitschr. f. Papyrologie u. Epigraphik* i (1967), p. 167. Other Theons, perhaps related to our man, are listed as former owners of οὐκίαι in Rostovtzeff, *Roman Empire*² ii, p. 672. See also P. Mich. x 599 introd. The gymnasiarch of the present papyrus should be added to Sijpesteijn's list (*Liste des gymnasiarques des métropoles de l'Égypte romaine*).

2866. Order for payment in grain. 10 × 12.5 cm. A.D. 122/3.

¹ *Καραπίων γραμματεὺς Ἰουλί(ου)* ² *Καραπίωνος ὑπομνημ(ατογράφου) Διονυσίω*
³ *σιτολ(όγω) μέσης τοπ(αρχίας) Σενέπ(τα) τόπ(ων) χα(ίρειν).* ⁴ *διάστειλον ἀφ' οὗ ἔχεις ἐν*
θέμ(ατι) ⁵ *πυροῦ γενή(ματος) τοῦ ἐνεστ(ῶτος) ἐβδόμου* ⁶ *ἔτους Ἀδριανοῦ καίσαρος τοῦ*
κυρίου ⁷ *τοῦ Ἰουλίου Καραπίωνος Πεκύ⁸σει Πεκύσιος.* [
(Faint traces of two lines)

'Sarapion, secretary of Julius Sarapion, hypomnematographus, to Dionysius, sitologus of the middle toparchy, Senephta district, greetings. Transfer to Pekysis son of Pekysis . . . from the amount which you hold in deposit for Julius Sarapion from the wheat-crop of the present seventh year of Hadrian Caesar the lord . . .'

1-2 Julius Sarapion is not known to me elsewhere.

7 τοῦ Ἰουλίου Καραπίωνος seems to be misplaced; it should go after ἔχεις (cf. esp. 2867, 5).

2867. Order for payment in grain. 7.9 × 15 cm. 19 August, A.D. 127.

¹ [. . .] *γραμματεὺς Ἰουλίου* ² *[Θ]έωνος γυμνασιάρχου* ³ *[σι]τολόγοις Σερύφειω*
τόπων ⁴ *χαίρειν.* *διαστείλατε ἀφ' οὗ* ⁵ *ἔχετε τοῦ Ἰουλίου Θεώνος* ⁶ *ἐν θέματι πυροῦ*
γενήματ(ος) ⁷ *ια (ἔτους) Ἀδριανοῦ καίσαρος τοῦ* ⁸ *κυρίου Καραπίωνι Διονυσίου* ⁹ *Σερ(ύ-*
φειω) (ἀρτ.) θ, Σενοκώμειω (ἀρτ.) γ, ¹⁰ *Σεν..() (ἀρτ.) γδ χ(οίνικας) δ, (γίνονται)*
(πυροῦ) (ἀρτ.) ζ χ(οίνικες) δ. ¹¹ *(ἔτους) ια αὐτοκράτορος καίσαρος* ¹² *[Τ]ραϊανοῦ*
Ἀδριανοῦ σεβαστοῦ ¹³ *Μεσο(ρή) κς.*

' . . ., secretary of Julius Theon, gymnasiarch, to the sitologi of Seryphis district, greetings. Transfer to Sarapion son of Dionysius for his account at Seryphis $\frac{3}{4}$ art., for his account at Senokomis 3 art., for his account at Sen . . . $3\frac{1}{4}$ art. 4 choen., equal 7 art. 4 choen., from the amount which you hold in deposit for Julius Theon from the wheat-crop of the 11th year of Hadrian Caesar the lord. 11th year of Emperor Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus, Mesore 26.'

9-10 *Σερ(ύφειω), Σενοκώμειω, Σεν..()*: these are probably places where Sarapion had an account.

10 *Σεν..()*: the writing, though completely preserved, has resisted decipherment. One might venture *Σενεκ(ελεῦ)*, the name of a village which, like *Σερύφειω* and *Σενοκώμειω*, was in the western toparchy (1285 80, 1659 36, etc.). It does not seem to be *Σεναώ* (also western toparchy, cf. 1659 39).

13 κ is very uncertain; perhaps *Μεσο(ρή) [ξ]*5.

2868. Order for payment in grain. 6.1 × 11 cm. 14 Sept., A.D. 147.

¹ Ἡρακ[.]λειδῆς Σαρα(πίωνος) τῶν ² γεγυμνασιάρχ(ηκότων) διὰ Ζωίλ(ου) φρον(τιστοῦ) ³ κιτολ(όγοις) Ψώβθεως ἀπηλ(ιώτου) χαίρ(ειν). ⁴ διαστείλατε ἀφ' οὗ ἔχετε μου ⁵ ἐν θέματι πυροῦ γενήμ(ατος) ⁶ τοῦ διελθόντ(ος) ι (ἔτους) Ἀντωνίνου ⁷ καίσαρος τ[ο]ῦ κυρίου κληρο⁸νόμοις Πτολεμαῖς τῆς καὶ ⁹ Σινθεῦτος τηθίδος μου ¹⁰ Πακέρκη ιθλ χ(οίνικας) ζ, Θώλ(θεως) ιηδ χ(οίνικας) γ, ¹¹ γ(ίνονται) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτ.) λη. (ἔτους) ια αὐτοκράτορ(ος) ¹² καίσαρος Τίτου Αἰλίου Ἀδριανοῦ ¹³ Ἀντωνείνου σεβαστοῦ εὐσεβοῦς ¹⁴ Θὼθ ιζ̄.

⁸ Πτολεμαῖς: read by J. Rea

⁹ τηθίδος: read by J. Rea

'Heracleides son of Sarapion, ex-gymnasiarch, through his agent Zoilus, to the sitologi of Psobthis of the eastern toparchy, greetings. Transfer to the heirs of Ptolema also called Sintheus, my aunt, for their account at Pakerke 19½ art. 7 choen., for their account at Tholthis 18½ art. 3 choen., equal 38 art. of wheat, from the amount which you hold in deposit for me from the wheat-crop of the past 10th year of Antoninus Caesar the lord. Eleventh year of the Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, Thoth 16.'

¹ Heracleides, son of Sarapion, is not in Sijpesteijn's list (see 2865, note to 1).

¹⁰ Πακέρκη: in eastern toparchy (1747 35, 2185 3). For the significance of mentioning the village see 2867 9-10 n. The word or sign for artabas is not written till the total is reached.

Θώλ(θεως): a name of a village in the lower, Thmoisepho, and middle toparchy (1659 62, 89, 98, 107, 2422 76, 84; see 1285 introd.).

2869. Order for payment in grain. 11.1 × 9.4 cm. c. A.D. 146/7.

¹ Διον(ύσιος) Σαραπ(ίωνος) τοῦ Ἰέρακος διὰ Ἀπολ() ² Ἡρωνος φίλο(υ) κιτολ(όγοις) Ὡφθεως χα(ίρειν). ³ διαστείλ(ατε) ἀφ' ὧν ἔχετε μου ἐν θέμα(τι) ⁴ πυρο(ῦ) γενή(ματος) ι (ἔτους) Ἀντωνείνου καίσαρος ⁵ τοῦ κυρίου Ὡρίωνι Ἐρμογένους ⁶ Σιναρ(ῦ) (ἀρτ.) κβ, (γίνονται) ἀρτ(άβαι) εἴκοσι δύο.

⁴ 1. Ἀντωνίνου

'Dionysius son of Sarapion and grandson of Hierax through Apol() son of Heron, his friend, to the sitologi of Ophis, greetings. Transfer to Horion son of Hermogenes for his account at Sinary, 22 art., equal twenty-two artabas, from those which you hold in deposit for me from the wheat-crop of the 10th year of Antoninus Caesar the lord.'

² φίλο(υ): not a personal name; in an unpublished acknowledgement for return of a deposit dated A.D. 198 the name of the debtor on whose behalf the agent is acting is added after φίλου. The noun and not the name Φίλου should therefore be read in PSI xii 1228, 8 (cf. ed.'s n.).

³ Ὡφθεως: village in eastern toparchy (1285 91, 1659 52, etc.).

⁶ Σιναρ(ῦ): in lower toparchy (1462 26, 1659 102, 2422 92).

2870. Order for payment in grain. 11.4 × 10.6 cm. 10 January, A.D. 176.

¹ Σαραποῦς Διονυ(σίου) δι(ὰ) Σαραπίω(νος) [.] [.] () ἀνδ(ρὸς) κι(τολόγοις) ² Σκὼ τόπ(ων) χα(ίρειν). διαστείλ(ατε) ἀς λοιπ(ὰς) ἔχετε μου ³ ἐν θέμα(τι) (πυροῦ) γενή(ματος) το(ῦ) διελ(θόντος) ιε (ἔτους) Αὐρηλίου ⁴ Ἀντωνείνου καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου

⁵ Τααφύγγει Νεμεσᾶτ(ος) δι(ὰ) Ψόιτ(ος) Καμβαθ() ⁶ . . . σεφῶ (ἀρτ.) τέσσαρας ἡμιцу τέταρτον χοί(νικας) τέσσαρας, (γίνονται) (ἀρτ.) δεῖ χ(οίνικες) δ. (ἔτους) ἑκκαδεκάτου ⁸ [Αὐ]ρηλίου Ἀντωνείνου τοῦ κυρίου Τῦβι ιδ.

4 l. Ἀντωνίνου (so also in 8)

'Sarapous daughter of Dionysius, through Sarapion son of . . ., her husband, to the sitologi of Sko district, greetings. Transfer to Taaphynchis daughter of Nemesas, through Psois son of Sambath(), for her account at . . . sepho, four and three-quarters artabas, four choenices, equal $4\frac{3}{4}$ art. 4 choen., the remainder of my deposit with you from the wheat-crop of the past 15th year of Aurelius Antoninus Caesar the lord. Sixteenth year of Aurelius Antoninus the lord, Tybi 14.'

1 The traces after Καραπί(ως) are very faint. They doubtless represented either the father's name or τοῦ ξου(τῆς).

2 Κώ: in the upper toparchy (e.g. 1659 20).

5 Καμβαθ(): e.g. Καμβαθ(ίου), Καμβαθ(ίως).

6 . . . σεφῶ: possibly Θμοισεφῶ, though the name of a village, not of a toparchy, is expected.

2871. Notice of credit for payments in grain. 10·3 × 16·9 cm. A.D. 175/6. See 2591 introd.

¹ διεστάλ(ησαν) (πυροῦ) γενή(ματος) τοῦ διελ(θόντος) ιε (ἔτους) ² Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου καίσαρος ³ τοῦ κυρίου δι(ὰ) τι(ολόγων) λιβὸς τοπ(αρχίας) Σερύφεως τόπ(ων) Διογενὶς Καραπᾶτος ⁵ δι(ὰ) Ὠρου Καρᾶτος γεω(ργοῦ) Σερύφεως ⁶ ἀρτάβ(αι) δέκα ἕξ, (γίνονται) (ἀρτ.) ις, ἀπὸ θέμα(τος) ⁷ Διδύμου Καρᾶ τοῦ Ἑκάτωνος. ⁸ Θεῶν ὁ κ(αὶ) Ἑρμίας βοη(θός) σεση(μείωμαι). ⁹ (2nd hand) κ(αὶ) δι(ὰ) τι(ολόγων) τῆς αὐτ(ῆς) ἀπὸ θέματ(ος) . . . , ¹⁰ Καρᾶ[. . .] Δ[ιο]γενὶς Καραπᾶ[το]ς ¹¹ ἀρτ(άβαι) ἑπτά, (γίνονται) [(ἀρτ.)] ζ[. . .] . . . σεση(μείωμαι).

4 and 10 l. Διογενίδι

'Transferred, of the wheat-crop of the past 15th year of Aurelius Antoninus Caesar the lord, through the sitologi of the western toparchy, Seryphis district, to Diogenis daughter of Sarapas through Horus son of Saras, farmer, at Seryphis, sixteen artabas, equal 16 art., from the deposit of Didymus son of Saras and grandson of Hecaton.'

'I, Theon also called Hermias, assistant, have signed.'

(2nd hand) 'And through the sitologi of the same (toparchy) from the deposit of . . . son of Sara . . . to Diogenis daughter of Sarapas, seven artabas, equal 7 art.'

'I, . . ., have signed.'

8 Theon also called Hermias appears again as βοηθός in 1539 18.

9 The line seems to end Ὠρου, and the signs before it, though not unambiguous, might be interpreted as δι(ὰ), i.e. this would be an additional payment by the same payer and through the same agent as ll. 4-5 [E. G. T.].

2872. Receipts for payment of wheat. 13 × 10 cm. A.D. 283/5.

¹ Μεμέτρηται καὶ διεστάλη πυροῦ γενήμ(ατος) τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος β (ἔτους) Καρείνου καὶ Νουμεριανοῦ Σεβαστῶν ³ ἐπὶ θη(αυροῦ) Πέλα ὀνόμ(ατος) Πλουτάρχου Καραπίωνος

δι(ὰ) ⁴ Σαραπίωνος ἀρτάβ(αι) τριάκοντα [[πέντε]] ἑπτά', (γίνονται) (ἀρτάβαι) λζ.
⁵ Πλούταρχος καὶ ὡς χρημ(ατίζω) δεκά(πρωτος) σεσημ(είωμαι).
⁶ Μεμέτρηται καὶ δ[ι]εστάλη πυροῦ γενήμ(ατος) τοῦ ⁷ ἐνεστῶτος α (ἔτους) τ[οῦ] κυρίου
 ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ ⁸ [Σεβαστο]ῦ ἐπὶ θ[η]ς(αυροῦ) ± 20].[± 5].

· · · · ·
 'Measured and booked in the granary at Pela to the account of Plutarchus son of Sarapion, by Sarapion: thirty-seven artabas of wheat from the crop of the present 2nd year of Carinus and Numerianus the Augusti, total 37 art. Signed by me, Plutarchus and however I am styled, decaprotus.

'Measured and booked at the granary . . . of wheat from the crop of the present 1st year of our lord Diocletian . . .'

¹ μεμέτρηται καὶ διεστάλη: sing. for pl. No other receipt of this formula has yet been published. If each verb is to be given its proper force, the 37 artabas must be a total of smaller payments some of which were delivered in kind (μεμέτρηται) and others transferred through a banking procedure (διεστάλη).

⁶ The second receipt is separated from the first by a space equivalent to about 7 lines.

IX. DOCUMENTS FIRST PUBLISHED ELSEWHERE

2873. Withdrawal from lease. 11·3 × 25·2 cm. 25 October, A.D. 62. Published by Gerald Browne with plate in *BASP* v (1968), pp. 17-24.

¹ Ψεναμοῦνις Ψεναμοῦνις τοῦ ² Θῶνις καὶ Διονῦσις Πτόλλιαιτος ³ τοῦ Ὀρθωνώου τῶν ἀπὸ κώμης ⁴ Cécφθα τῆς κάτω τοπαρχείας ⁵ Τειβερίωι Κλαυδίωι Θέωνι μεθωτῆ τῆς Λουκείου Ἀνναίου ⁷ Cενέκα οὐσίας χαίρειν. ἐπὶ ⁸ ἀδυναμοῦμεν γεωργῆσαι ἅς ⁹ εἴχαμεν ἐπ' ὀνόματος ἡμῶν ¹⁰ ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς οὐσίας ἐκ τοῦ ¹¹ Διοτείμου κλήρου ἀρούρας ¹² πέντε, ἐξειστάμεθα ἀπὸ τοῦ ¹³ ἐνάτου ἔτους Νέρωνος Κλαυδίου ¹⁴ Καίσαρος Cεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ ¹⁵ Αὐτοκράτορος πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἔχιν ¹⁶ ἡμᾶς τῶ καθόλω περὶ τῶν τῆς <γῆς> ¹⁷ ἐκφορίων. διὸ ἀξιοῦμεν συν¹⁸χωρῆσαι ἡμῖν τῆς ἐξτάσεως ¹⁹ πρὸς τὴν ἀκυχοφαντήτους εἶναι ²⁰ αὐτούς. εὐτύχει. ²¹ (ἔτους) ἐνάτου Νέρωνος Κλαυδίου ²² Καίσαρος Cεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ ²³ Αὐτοκράτορος Φαῶφι κῆ. ²⁴ (2nd hand) Ψεναμοῦνις Ψεναμοῦνις ²⁵ ἐξίσταμαι τὴν γεωργίαν ²⁶ καθότι πρόκειται. (3rd hand) Διονύσιος ²⁷ Πτόλλις συνεξίσταμαι καθότι ²⁸ πρόκειται. ὁ αὐτὸς [χ]ρόνος.

Verso: ²⁹ (4th hand) . . . ³⁰ (5th hand) Ζωὶς Ἀμόιτος [[τοῦ ν. ου.[.]ου]] 'τοῦ Διονυσιού' ³¹ μητρὸς [[τῆς]] Τάσεως ³² τῆς Ταυσοράπιος ³³ ὡς (ἐτῶν) [[.]] μῆ οὐλλή ποδὶ ἀρ[ι]στ[ε]ρ[ω]. ³⁴ Δημητροῦς (ἐτῶν) κδ οἰκογενή(ς) ³⁵ ἐγ δούλης Cαραπούτος.

Recto: 1 Ψεναμοῦνις 2 = Ψεναμοῦνιος 2 Θῶνις = Θώνιος Διονῦσις = Διονύσιος Πτόλλιαιτος
4 τοπαρχείας 5 Τειβερίωι 6 Λουκίου 7 ἐπεί 8 γεωργῆσαι 9 εἴχομεν 11 Διοτίμου
12 ἐξειστάμεθα 15 ἔχιν 16 καθόλου 17 ἀξιοῦμεν 17-18 συχωρῆσαι 18 ἐκτάσεως
19 τὸ ἀκυχοφαντήτους 24 Ψεναμοῦνις 2 = Ψεναμοῦνιος 26 πρόκειται 27 Πτόλλιαιτος (see l. 2)
28 πρόκειται = πρόκειται: the scribe wrote προκίται, then corrected αι by drawing an iota through the alpha χρόνος: the nu is written awkwardly so as to resemble a mu Verso: 35 ἐκ

'Psenamounis, son of Psenamounis and grandson of Thonis, and Dionysius, son of Ptollis and grandson of Orthonoos, inhabitants of the village of Sesphta in the lower toparchy, to Tiberius Claudius Theon, lessee of the estate of Lucius Annaeus Seneca, greeting. Since we are unable to cultivate the five arouras which we held in our own name in the lot of Diotimus in the same estate, we are withdrawing, starting from the ninth year of Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, in order that we may be in no difficulties at all about the land rents. Accordingly we ask you to agree with us in the matter of the withdrawal, in order that we may not be subject to slanderous accusations. Farewell. Ninth year of Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, Phaophi 28.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Psenamounis, son of Psenamounis, am withdrawing from the cultivation, as aforesaid.'

(3rd hand) 'I, Dionysius, son of Ptollis, am also withdrawing, as aforesaid. The same date.'

2874. A lease of land. 12.5 × 39 cm. 16 October, A.D. 108. Published by Roger S. Bagnall, *BASP* v (1968), pp. 142–6, with plate.

¹ ἐμίθωξεν Στράτων Ἡλιοδώρου τῶν ² ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως Παχνοῦβι
 Τοτοέ³ως τοῦ Τρ[ύ]φωνος τῶν ἀπὸ κώμης Ταναίεως ⁴ Πέρση τῆς ἐπιγονῆς εἰς ἔτη
 τέσσαρα βροχὰς ⁵ τέσσαρα[ς] ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος δωδεκάτου ⁶ ἔτους Αὐτοκράτορος
 Καίσαρος Νέρουα ⁷ Τραιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Δακικοῦ ⁸ τὰς ὑπαρχούσας αὐτῶι
 [π]ερὶ τὴν [α]ὐτῆν Ταναίην ἐκ τοῦ Νικαί[ο]υ κλήρου ἀρο[ύ]ρας ¹⁰ ἐκ [ο]σι τέσσαρας, ὥστε
 σπεῖραι κα¹¹τ' ἔτος τὸ μὲν ἡμῖν πυρῶι τὸ τ' ἔτε¹²ρον ἡμῖν ξυλαμῆσαι ἀράκωι χόρτωι,
¹³ ἐκφορίου κατ' ἔτος ἀποτάκτου τοῦ μὲν ¹⁴ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους πυροῦ ἀρταβῶν ¹⁵ ἑκατὸν
 τριάκοντα ἐννέα, τῶν δ' ἄλλ¹⁶ων ἐτῶν τριῶν κατ' ἔτος ἀποτάκτου ¹⁷ πυροῦ ἀρταβῶν
 ἑκατὸν τριάκοντα ¹⁸ τεσσάρων, καὶ ἑκάτ' ἔτος τοῦ ἐκβησομένου ¹⁹ ἀχύρου τὸ ἡμῖν,
 ἀκίνδυνα πάντα κατ' ἔτο[ς] ²⁰ πα[ν]τὸς κινδ[ύ]ν[ο]υ, τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς γῆς κατ' ἔτος ²¹ δημο-
 σίων ὄντων πρὸς τὸν Στράωνα ὃν καὶ ²² κυριεύειν τῶν κατ' ἔτος καρπῶν ἕως ²³ τὸ κατ'
 ἔτος ἀπότακτον κομίζηται. ²⁴ τῆς δὲ μισθώσεως βεβαιουμένης ἀποδό²⁵τωι ὁ μεμισθω-
 μένος τῶι μεμισθωκότι ²⁶ [τὸ κατ' ἔτο[ς] ἀπότακτον ἀεὶ ἐν Παῦνι μηνὶ ²⁷ ἐφ' ἄλλω
 Τ[αναί]ε[ως] πυρ[ό]ν [ν]έον καθαρὸν ἄδολον ἄκριθον ²⁸ κεκοκινευμένον ὡς εἰς δημόσιον,
 μετρούμενον ²⁹ μέτρῳ τετάρτῳ παραλημπτικῶ αὐτοῦ Στράωνος, ³⁰ γεινομένης τῆς
 μετρήσεως ὑφ' οὗ ἐὰν αἰρήηται Στράων. ³¹ ἐπάναγκον παραδῶσει ὁ μεμισθωμένος τὸ
 ἔδαφος ³² τεθρνοκοπημένον καὶ τὸ ἡμῖν μέρος ἀπὸ ἀναπαύματος ³³ ἀράκωι χ[ό]ρ[τ]ω ἀπὸ
 κοπῆς. ἐὰν δέ τις ἄβροχος γένηται, πα³⁴ραδεχθήσεται τῶ μεμισθωμένῳ πρὸς ἀνάλογον
 τοῦ ³⁵ ἀποτάκτου. καὶ ἡ πρᾶξις ἔστω Στράωνι ἐκ τε τοῦ μεμισθ[ω] ³⁶ μέγ[ο]υ καὶ ἐκ τῶν
 ὑπαρχόντων αὐτῶ πάντων καθάπερ ἐκ <δίκης>. ³⁷ κυρία ἡ μίσθωσις. ἔτους δωδεκάτου
 Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος ³⁸ Νέρουα Τραιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Δακικοῦ, Φαῶφι ιε.
³⁹ Παχνοῦβις Τοτοέως τοῦ Τρύφωνος μεμισθωμαι ⁴⁰ [τὰς] εἴκοσι τέσσαρας ἀρούρας ἐπὶ τὰ
 τέσσαρα ⁴¹ [ἔ]τη ἐκφορίου κατ' ἔτ[ο]ς ἀποτάκτου τοῦ μὲν ⁴² [ἐνε]στῶτος ἔτους πυροῦ
 ἀρταβῶν ἑκατὸν ⁴³ τρ[ι]άκοντα ἐνν[έ]α, τῶν δ' [ἄλλ]λων ἐτῶν ⁴⁴ τριῶν κατ' ἔτος π[υ]ροῦ
 ἀρταβῶν ἑκατ[ό]ν ⁴⁵ τριάκοντα τεσσάρων, καὶ τοῦ ἐγβησομένου ⁴⁶ κατ' ἔτος ἀχύρου τὸ
 ἡμῖν, καὶ ἀποδώσω ⁴⁷ πάντα κατ' ἔτος καὶ [π]οιήσομαι τὴν κατ' ἔ⁴⁸τος θρνοκοπίαν, καὶ
 παραδώσω τῶ ἐσχάτῳ ⁴⁹ ἐνιαυτῶ τὸ ἡμῖν μέρος τῶν προκειμ⁵⁰νων ἀρουρῶν ἀπὸ
 ἀναπαύματος κοπῆς ⁵¹ ἀράκου καὶ χόρτω. καὶ παραδώσω τεθρνο⁵²κοπημένας ταῖς ἰδίας
 μου δαπάναις. καὶ ⁵³ ἀποδώσω καὶ ἕκαστα ποιήσω ὡς πρόκειται. ⁵⁴ Πλούταρχος
 Παχνοῦβις ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ τοῦ πα⁵⁵τρός μου μὴ εἰδότης γράμματα. ἔτους ⁵⁶ ἐνδεκάτου
 Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Νέρουα ⁵⁷ Τραιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Γερ[μα]νικοῦ Δακικοῦ,
⁵⁸ Φαῶφι ιε.

24/5 ἀποδότωι: 1. ἀποδότω

51 l. χόρτου

54 Παχνοῦβις: 1. Παχνοῦβιος

56 l. δωδεκάτου

'Straton the son of Heliodoros, of those from the city of the Oxyrhynchi, has leased to Pachnoubis the son of Totoes, grandson of Tryphon, of those from the village of Tanaiis, a Persian of the Epigone, for four years and four inundations from the present twelfth year of the emperor Caesar Nerva Trajan Augustus Germanicus Dacicus, twenty-four arouras belonging to him around the same Tanaiis, from the lot of Nikaios;

'To sow annually half with wheat and to plant the other half with a crop of wild chickling, for an annual rent from the produce, from the first year of one hundred and thirty-nine artabas of wheat, and for rent from the other three years annually of one hundred and thirty-four artabas of wheat, and annually half of the chaff produced, all these being safe from all risk annually, the annual taxes on the land being the charge of Straton, who shall have control over the annual crops until the annual rent has been collected.

'The lease being guaranteed, the lessee shall pay to the lessor the annual rent always in the month of Payni on the threshing floor of Tanaiis, new wheat, clean, unadulterated, and free of straw, sifted, as if to the state, measured by the fourth measure used for calculating the payments of the same Straton, the measuring being done by whomever Straton may choose.

'The lessee shall be required to return the land with the reeds cut down and the half part which has been fallow with a crop of wild chickling clean from the cutting. If any part becomes unwatered, a proportionate allowance toward the rent shall be made to the lessee. The right of execution shall belong to Straton from the lessee and all that belongs to him, as in accordance with a legal decision.

'The lease is valid. Twelfth year of the Emperor Caesar Nerva Trajan Augustus Germanicus Dacicus, Phaophi 15.'

'I, Pachnoubis son of Totoes, grandson of Tryphon, have leased the twenty-four arouras for four years for an annual rent from the produce of one hundred thirty-nine artabas for the present year and one hundred thirty-four artabas annually for the other three years, and half of the chaff produced annually; and I will make all payments annually and carry out the yearly reed-cutting, and in the last year I will return the half part of the said arouras from the land fallow in a crop of wild chickling cleaned from the cutting. And I will return the arouras with the reeds cut at my own expense. And I will make payments and carry out each provision as it is specified.'

'I, Ploutarchos son of Pachnoubis, wrote on behalf of my father, who is illiterate.'

'Eleventh (sic) year of the Emperor Caesar Nerva Trajan Augustus Germanicus Dacicus, Phaophi 15.'

2875. Apprenticeship contract. 13.5 × 18 cm. Early 3rd cent. Published with plate by Roger S. Bagnall in *BASP* v (1968), pp. 135-9.

¹ Ὁμολογοῦς [ιν ἀλλήλ]οις Ἀυρήλιος Ζωῖλος χ[ρη]²[μ]ατίζων μ[ητρὸς] Ζοῖλουτ[ρο]ς [Πτολεμαί]ο[υ] ³ ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχω[ν πόλε]ως καὶ Ἀυρήλιος Ἀπο[λ]λώνιος ⁴ Δωρᾶτος μ[ητρὸς] Ἀπολλωνίας ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ⁵ πόλεως οἰκ[οδόμος] ὁ μὲν Ζωῖλος ἐκδεδοῦσθαι ⁶ ἑαυτὸν τ[ῶ] Ἀπολλωνίω π[ρ]ὸς μάθ[η]ς [ιν τῆς] ⁷ οἰκοδομικ[ῆς] τ[έχνης] ἐπ[ί] χρόνον [ἔ]τη τρία ⁸ [ἀ]πὸ νεομη[νία]ς τοῦ ὄντος μην[ός] Χο[ι]ᾶκ ⁹ [τ]οῦ ἐνεστῶ[τος] . (ἔτους) ἐφ' ὃν χρόν[ον] ὁ Ζωῖλος ¹⁰ παρέξει ἑαυτ[όν] παραμένοντα τῶ ἐπιστά¹¹τη Ἀπολλωνί[ω] ἀπόκοιτον καὶ ἀφ[ῆ]μερ[ο]ν ¹² οὐκ ὄντα τῆς [το]ῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπιστ[ά]του οἰκ[ί]ας ¹³ δια[κ]ρούοντα [κ]αὶ ἐκτελ[οῦ]ντα πάντα τ[ὰ] ¹⁴ ἐ[πι]τραπησόμ[ε]να ἀ[ὐ]τῶ ὑ[πὸ] τοῦ ἐπιστά[του] ¹⁵ ἀνήκοντα τῆ τέχ[ν]η, τ[ο]ῦ αὐτ[οῦ] Ζωῖλ[ου] ¹⁶ τρεφομένου καὶ ἱματιζο[μέν]ου ὑπὸ τοῦ [ἐπι] ¹⁷στάτου ἐπὶ τ[ὸ]ν προκειμέ[νο]ν χρό[νον] ἔ[τ]ι ¹⁸ δὲ καὶ ἐπιχορηγουμένου ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπιστ[ά] ¹⁹του ὑπὲρ μισθ[ο]ῦ κατὰ μῆν[α]...[...]. ²⁰ ἐξ τοῦ Ζωῖλ[ου] ἀποδιδόντ[ο]ς τὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ²¹ δημόσια. ἐπὰν δὲ ὁ μὴ εἴη συμβῆ τὸν αὐτ[ὸν] χρόνον ἀσθενῆσαι, ἔσται παρὰ τῶ αὐτ[ὸ] ²³τῶ ἐπιστ[ά]τ[η] ἐπιμελούμενος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ²⁴ [κ]αὶ ὧν ἐὰν ἀσθενῶν ἀργήσῃ ἡμερῶν

25 τούτων τὰς [ἴ]σας παραμενεῖ τῷ ἐπιστάτῃ 26 μετὰ τὸν χρόνον χωρὶς μισθοῦ διὰ τὸ
 ἀκα²⁷ταργηθεὶ αὐ[τὸ]ν λαμβάνειν τὸν προκειμέ²⁸νον μισθόν. πληρώσαντι δὲ τῷ Ζωίλου
 πα²⁹ρὰ τῷ ἐπιστάτῃ τὸν τριετῆ χρόνον ἀπε[ρ]³⁰χομένῳ δώσ[ε]ι ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος ἰμάτι[α]
 ἄξια 31 δραχμῶν ἐ[ξ]ήκοντα ἀνθ' ὧν περ[ὶ] αὐτὸν 32 εἰσήνεγκε [τ]ῶν ἴσων δραχμῶν
 ἐξήκον³³[τ]α καὶ ἀργαλ[εῖα] τῆς οἰκοδομικῆς χωρὶς 34 τειμῆς. παρο[ύ]σ[α] δὲ ἡ τοῦ Ζωίλου
 μήτηρ 35 Αὐρήλια [Ζοῖ]λοῦς Πτολεμαίου μητρὸς 36 ...[... ἀπὸ τ]ῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως
 εὐδοκεῖ 37 [± 14 ὁ] δὲ Ἀπολ[λ]ώ[νιο]ς[

26-7 ἀκαταργηθεὶ see commentary

28 l. Ζωίλω

32 l. ἐργαλεῖα

'Aurelius Zoilus, known as the son of his mother Zoilous the daughter of Ptolemaeus, from the city of the Oxyrhynchī, and Aurelius Apollonius, son of Doras and Apollonia, from the same city, a builder, acknowledge to one another:

'Zoilus, that he has handed himself over to Apollonius to learn the craft of building, for a period of three years from the first of the present month Choiak in the present . . .th year, for which time Zoilus will provide himself remaining with the overseer Apollonius, being absent neither by night nor by day from the house of the said overseer, learning and carrying out all instructions in the craft furnished him by the overseer; Zoilus to be fed and clothed by the overseer for the said time and also to be provided by the same overseer with . . .-six (drachmas?) per month as pay, with Zoilus paying the taxes for himself.

'In case (may it not be) he should happen to be sick during the said period, he will stay with the said overseer, being cared for by him, and for as many days as he is off work with sickness he shall remain an equal number with the overseer after his term, without pay, because he is taking the aforementioned pay which does not allow for time off(?).

'Apollonius will give Zoilus, when he has finished his term of three years with the overseer and departs, clothes worth sixty drachmas, in return for those which he brings with him worth also sixty drachmas, and also tools of the builder's craft without cost.

'Aurelia Zoilous, daughter of Ptolemaeus and of her mother, the mother of Zoilus, from the same city, being present approves of (this contract). And Apollonius . . .'

27 In the first editing ἀκαταργηθεὶ was taken as a misspelling of ἀ καταργηθῆ. An alternative interpretation suggested by P. J. Parsons is that an adverb ἀκαταργητί was intended. Though this word is not actually found, its formation is regular.

2876. An oath of guard. 8.5 × 25.5 cm. Early 3rd cent. Oath of a villager of the Memphite nome upon entering the liturgical office of guarding the territory along the Nile. The official title of the post is not given, but was probably a form of παραφυλακή. Published with plate by Roger S. Bagnall in *BASP* v (1968), pp. 139-42.

1 Καλπουργίῳ Ἰσιδώρῳ 2 τῷ [κ]αὶ Ἀρποκρατίωνι 3 [ε]τρατ(ηγῶ) Μεμφίτου 4 Διο-
 γένης Ἰμο[ύ]θου μητρὸς 5 Ἡραΐδος ἀπὸ κώμης Ψοαφρῆ 6 [το]ῦ αὐτοῦ νομ[ο]ῦ, ἀγαδοθεὶς
 7 ἄμ' ἄ[λ]λοις ὑπὸ τ[ο]ῦ τῆς 8 κώμης κωμ[ο]γ[ρ]αμματέω[ε] 9 εἰς τὸ παραφυλάξαι [εἶ]ν
 ἀλιάδι 10 ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ ποταμῷ 11 ἀπὸ ὄρμου κώμη[ε]. .αχε¹²φρῆ μεχρὶ Κυκαμείνου,
 13 ὁμνύω τὴν τ[ο]ῦ κυρ[ίου] 14 Αὐτοκράτορος Μά[ρ]κου 15 Αὐρηλίου Ἄντων[ί]νου 16 Εὐξε-
 βουῆς Σεβαστ[ο]ῦ 17 τύχην παραφυλάξειν 18 νυκτὸς τε καὶ ἡμέρας 19 ἐν τοῖ[ε] προκειμένοι[ε]
 20 ὀρίοι[ε] ἀδιαλείπτως 21 καὶ ἀμέμπτως, ἢ ἔνοχος 22 εἶην τῷ ὄρκῳ. παρέσχον 23 δὲ

ἔμαντοῦ ἐγγυητὰς ²⁴ Βαυθλᾶν Ἀπείτωτος ²⁵ μητρὸς Ἀπλωναρίου ²⁶ καὶ Νεμεσίωνα
 Ἰμούθο[ν] ²⁷ μητρὸς Ἡραΐδος, ἀμφοτέ[ρων] ²⁸ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς [κώμης παρόντας] ²⁹ καὶ
 εὐδοκοῦν[τας]

'To Calpurnius Isidorus also called Harpocraton, strategus of the Memphite nome: I, Diogenes son of Imouthes and Herais, from the village of Psoaphre of the same nome, having been nominated among others by the comogrammateus of the village for standing guard in a boat in the great river, from the harbour of the village of . . . achephre to Sykameinos, swear by the fortune of the lord the Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Augustus to stand guard by night and by day in the said areas, without absence or fault, or may I be liable to the consequences of the oath. I have furnished as sureties for myself Bauthlas the son of Apeitos and Aplonarion, and Nemesion the son of Imouthes and Herais, both from the same village, being present and giving their assent.'

1-3 There are no strategi known for the Memphite nome between 175, when an Apollonius is known, and 270/5, when an Aurelius Besarion is attested. There are two other undatable third-century strategi listed, Aurelius Agathus also called Salo . . . and Aurelius Heraclammon (H. Henne, *Liste des stratèges*, p. 22; cf. Mussies, *P. Lugd. Bat.* xiv (1965), p. 24).

5 Psoaphre is mentioned only in PSI 675, a third-century B.C. document from the Zenon papers. Since the archive is concerned with the Fayûm, it is not likely to refer to the same village as the present document. There is also a Psouphre or Psophre in *P. Lond.* 99, 50 (vol. i, p. 158), as corrected in *BL* i 277, a document which mentions at least one other village whose name is found in the Memphite nome (*BL* i 226 n. 7).

9 ἀλάδι: found elsewhere in 2675 9 and *P. Beatty Panop.* i 60, 252, meaning a cutter used for the postal service; also (mentioned as unpublished in notes to *P. Beatty Panop.* i 252), *P. Lond.* 1159 IV, head of column (*P. Lond.* iii 112-14). In general, it means a small fishing-type vessel, here used for a patrol boat.

11 The first two letters of the village name are not sufficiently preserved to allow conjecturing the name.

12 Sykameinos is not otherwise attested in this nome. There was a Sykameinos in Nubia (*CIG* 5110) and one mentioned in *P. Lips.* 97 from Hermonthis. The name ('having fig trees') is likely to have been common.

14-16 In the original publication the emperor was taken to be Elagabalus (A.D. 218-22), in which case *Ἐτυχοῦς* has been omitted from his titles, see Bureth, *Les Titulatures*, pp. 106-7. The fact that the applicant and his guarantors do not have Aurelius as part of their name suggests the possibility that the document was written before the Antonine Constitution. The titles *Ἐυσεβοῦς*, *Κεβαστοῦ* suit the sole reign of Caracalla, in which case the name *Κεουήρου* has probably been omitted before *Ἀντωνίνου* (Bureth, pp. 102-5). Two papyri as yet unpublished and unknown to the first editor mention a strategus of the Arsinoite nome with the same name as the Memphite strategus here. In the later one, of A.D. 215/16, the strategus has the prefix Aurelius as a result of the Antonine Constitution. There is a strong presumption that the man was strategus of the Memphite nome early in the sole reign of Caracalla, say about A.D. 213 or 214, and that he was transferred to the Arsinoite just before the Antonine Constitution began to affect nomenclature in the papyri, which was late in A.D. 214 (*JEA* xlvi (1962), pp. 124-31). [Edd.] J. Bingen also has suggested (by letter) that the lack of *Κεουήρου* here may point to A.D. 212, when there might have been some confusion early in Caracalla's sole reign.

24 Ἀπείτως is not listed in *NB* nor in Foraboschi's *Onomasticum Alterum Papyrologicum*, but it seems a reasonable formation from *Ἀπεις*.

28 Restored after 972.

2877. Order for Nails. 7.5×7.2 cm. Late 3rd cent. Published with plate by Roger S. Bagnall, *BASP* v (1968), pp. 99–103.

¹ Ἀνδρόμαχος Θεώνι ² χαίρειν. ³ δὸς Διοσκόρω υἱῶ Φίλω(νος) ⁴ ὑδροπ(αρόχω) εἰς ἐπισκ(ευήν) μηχαν(ανῆς) ⁵ αὐτοῦ ἤλων κρικωτ(ῶν) ⁶ μέ(τρον) ἡμιου γ(ίνεται) μέ(τρον) (ἡμιου) ⁷ (ἔτους) β|| Μεχείρ ιγ

‘Andromachus to Theon, greetings. Give the hydroparochus Dioscorus, son of Philon, a half measure of ringed nails for repairing his waterwheel, that is, $\frac{1}{2}$ measure. In the second year, the thirteen of Mecheir.’

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(Letters in small raised type refer to fragments, small roman numerals to columns. An asterisk indicates that the word to which it is attached is not recorded in the ninth edition of Liddell and Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon*. Square brackets indicate that a word is wholly or partly supplied from other sources or by conjecture. Round brackets indicate that a word is expanded from an abbreviation or a symbol. The article is not indexed.)

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